

Arrows show the direction of the IDF push in southwest Beirut yesterday reaching, according to reports, new positions represented on map by dotted line. Armour and infantry took over the airport terminal, at the end of road from the city, and then the runways, stopping at the Uzal and Burj al-Barajne Palestinian refugee sections of city, while air force and artillery pounded PLO targets throughout the Moslem section (shaded area). PLO forces fired shells and rockets at Christian quarters in East Beirut.

PLO's time running out, says Sharon

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Defence Minister Ariel Sharon declared yesterday evening that by occupying the Beirut international airport and tightening the siege of the Lebanese capital, "we have made it clear to the terrorists that the sand is running out of their hourglass."

He was speaking to a crowd of high school pupils at the opening of Youth Town at the fairgrounds here.

"Let them not think that they can slip away in the dark of night through one of the airport runways," Sharon said. "We have paid so dearly to assure the elimination of danger and the security of our settlements, that we are not going to have made the sacrifices in vain," Sharon said. He added that "we'll sit there (in Beirut) as long as it takes to accomplish this."

He said that the IDF would stay in Beirut until the last terrorist and Syrian soldier leave Lebanon.

Sharon said the IDF, which has done and is doing everything possible to minimize loss of life among Israeli soldiers and Lebanese civilians, already has fears "beyond imagination" to its credit. He said the secret of the IDF's strength is that it is not only one of the most glorious armies in the world, but also one of the most moral.

"On the eve of your joining the army," Sharon concluded, "tell your worried mothers, who are asking whether the killing will go on forever, that if we don't do this today, there won't be anyone to do it tomorrow."

Syrian claims war of attrition is on

DAMASCUS (AP). — Syria's defence minister claimed yesterday that Syrian forces in Lebanon have "dragged the Israeli army into a war of attrition it cannot bear."

Li-Gen. Mustafa Tlas was quoted in a statement published in the government-controlled press that Syria "is determined to keep on fighting on behalf of the whole Arab nation."

Tlas's statement was issued to mark the 37th anniversary of the Syrian army.

Tlas said the Soviet-made weapons used by the Syrian army proved superior in battle to the U.S.-made tanks and jets used by Israel.

He claimed that since Israel invaded Lebanon on June 6, Syrian forces had destroyed 400 Israeli tanks and 60 aircraft, adding that Israel admitted losing only 26 jets.

Security Council demands cease-fire

UNITED NATIONS (Reuters). — The Security Council last night unanimously called for an immediate cease-fire in Beirut and a "cessation of all military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border."

The resolution also authorized the UN secretary-general to deploy, if Lebanon requests them, observers to "monitor the situation in and around Beirut."

Israelis in Kenya reported safe

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Following the coup attempt in Kenya yesterday, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said last night in Jerusalem that all Israelis in Kenya were safe.

These included a group of officials and newsmen who were in Nairobi en route to Kinshasa in preparation for Premier Menachem Begin's visit to Zaire, since postponed because of President Mobutu Sese Seko's health. (See story on Page 4)

IDF captures Beirut Airport; no decision to take entire city

Military action designed to back diplomatic pressure

By ASHER WALLFISH
and DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Reporters

The IDF's unprecedented pounding of West Beirut yesterday, and its advance across the airport, do not represent a new departure in Israeli policy, according to cabinet sources.

Rather, the land, sea and air bombardment, and the encroachment on the perimeter of the PLO lines, here intended to intensify what Defence Minister Ariel Sharon has called "static fire tactics."

Premier Begin and Minister Sharon apparently assumed that this intensification would not provoke a serious reaction from the U.S.

Cabinet Secretary Dan Mendor termed the IDF operations "local in nature." The IDF was not entering West Beirut, he assured newsmen after yesterday's cabinet meeting, nor had any decision been taken to affect such entry.

The designation of the action as "tactical" and within extant policy apparently enabled Begin and Sharon to order it without informing the cabinet or any of its committees beforehand, much less seek their formal approval.

A cabinet source said there was no outright expression of dissatisfaction at the meeting. Ministers, however, wanted to

know exactly where the areas taken figured on the map. By that time the airport operation had been completed and the bombardment of West Beirut was at its height.

Cabinet Secretary Meridor, asked to confirm the capture of the airport, told newsmen after the cabinet meeting that he had "no information" on this.

Towards the end of the cabinet meeting Begin said he had instructed Washington ambassador Moshe Arens to tell the U.S. Administration that Israel was ready for a cease-fire in Lebanon on the explicit stipulation that it be "absolute and mutual." This message catalyzed the intense diplomatic exchanges that eventually resulted in the five p.m. cease-fire.

Earlier in the day, Begin had received a personal message from President Ronald Reagan, with birthday felicitations.

This message contained a clear reference to the fact that Israel and the U.S. do not agree on the military and other pressures on West Beirut. It expressed the hope that to further the goal of peace and security for Israel, the prime minister would "help the U.S. to enable Ambassador Habib to conduct his complex negotiations in the environment he needs to achieve success."

Other message concerning West Beirut and the cease-fire had reached Jerusalem from other (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Cabinet losing faith in Habib

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Diplomatic Reporter

Several cabinet ministers, including doves as well as hawks, have lost faith in Philip Habib. But though they voice this view inside the cabinet, they do not want to state it in public, because the special envoy is the personal representative of U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

The ministers point out that despite Habib's recurrent optimism after so many weeks it appears he has begun to tread water. They note that his messages and statements always leave escape clauses in the form of caution that a great many loose ends still remain.

But they still believe that Habib's efforts will continue, because only Reagan himself could officially declare the mission a failure. Israel cannot afford to do so, and the U.S. will not throw in the towel as long as there is some chance of success.

Information reaching Jerusalem has the PLO in West Beirut openly boasting of how it is making a mockery of Habib and of Reagan. Christian and other Lebanese sources add that the PLO leadership has not seriously discussed the details of possible evacuation.

The leaders admit that they are playing for time, the sources say, and discuss only how to continue doing so. They have no desire to see their men split among a large number of Arab countries, where they would be virtual prisoners of the various regimes. They prefer to behave as though they have nowhere to go, and are stalling in the hope that somehow, they can prevent what Israel says is inevitable: their evacuation.

Ali to see Mitterrand

PARIS (Reuters). — Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister Kamal Hassan Ali arrived here yesterday. He is due to meet President Francois Mitterrand tomorrow.

Shamir to tell Washington: We can't wait indefinitely

Jerusalem Post Staff and Agencies

WASHINGTON. — Israel Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said on arrival here last night that the crisis in Lebanon is at a turning-point and that there would soon be some positive results. "It is imperative for Israel and the U.S. to remain in close contact."

Israeli officials here said earlier that Shamir intends to make it clear today to the Reagan administration that Israel cannot wait indefinitely for U.S. special envoy Philip Habib to find a peaceful solution to the crisis.

The foreign minister will meet today with President Ronald Reagan at the White House. Following the meeting Shamir is to be the guest for lunch of Secretary of State George Shultz, and to meet afterward at the Pentagon with Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger.

Against the background of yesterday's heavy fighting in Beirut, the officials said Shamir will press the administration to carry out its declared intention of removing the PLO from the Lebanese capital as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, American officials said they will use the meetings with Shamir to warn Israel once again against entering West Beirut, and to call upon Israel to enable Habib to exhaust all the possibilities of the negotiations.

The meetings also will focus on how to revive the autonomy negotiations soon, with a view to finding a solution to the Palestinian problem.

Israel is placing great importance on the meeting with the new secretary of state. In addition to a get-acquainted meeting between Shamir and Shultz, Israel will seek clarification of Shultz's positions and will try to explain its own positions to him unequivocally. Shamir is expected to invite Shultz to visit Israel.

Eitan: IDF spokesman told the truth

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan yesterday strongly denied that the army spokesman was to blame for Israel's bad image in the news media.

Eitan told military correspondents that the spokesman had reported nothing but the truth and he was sometimes late in publishing his version because he had to check the facts.

Eitan's strong defence appeared to both slightly embarrass and greatly please the spokesman, Tat-Aluf Dan Even.

Eitan recalled the reports that tens of thousands of Lebanese had been killed and 600,000 were homeless as a result of the war. Eitan said he was asked about it by the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee and replied, "Wait, I don't know."

The Knesset members later went to Lebanon and saw with their own eyes that the reports were wrong.

Eitan said. The IDF spokesman eventually denied them too, but "some politicians questioned the basis on which he denied it," Eitan said.

Information was held back because the world stops the war whenever it becomes clear Israel is winning, he continued. Some photographers published montages to depict Israel in a bad light, so "it is not fair to complain about the spokesman," the chief of staff said.

"Even a spokesman slightly better than he could not have fought such phenomena," Eitan said.

Soldier to be buried

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Israeli soldier killed by terrorist fire on Saturday south of Mansouriyah in the central sector of Lebanon was Samal-Rishon Yitzhak Giv. 27. His funeral is to take place today at 3 p.m. at Kiryat Shaul Cemetery near Tel Aviv.

Cabinet faces problem of Lebanese refugees

By BENNY MORRIS
Post Diplomatic Reporter

The cabinet yesterday took two oblique steps towards solving the particular problem of the homeless Palestinian refugees in south Lebanon and the more general problem of these refugees throughout the Middle East.

With an eye to solving the immediate problem of the homeless refugees in Lebanon, the cabinet

communicated issued after yesterday's weekly session stated: "The government of Israel is of the view that measures should begin, through the Lebanese government, to provide accommodation for refugees in Lebanon in preparation for the winter months."

Observers believe that the cabinet statement is an indirect reply to recent criticism by American sources that the U.S. is "worried"

by the inaction regarding the large humanitarian problem posed by the refugees.

In the IDF sweep through southern Lebanon, and in subsequent clearing actions, the main Ein Hilwe Palestinian camp near Sidon was largely destroyed and large sections of the Rashidiye camp near Tyre were also devastated. Reports about the number of Palestinians originally housed in both camps have ranged from 40,000-100,000.

A fortnight ago, Tat-Aluf David Maimon, the IDF officer in charge of assistance to southern Lebanon, told the Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee that some "20,000-30,000" Palestinian refugees from these camps are now homeless. But other reports have suggested that the number of homeless in southern Lebanon is much larger. A recent UN report spoke of "83,000" Palestinians who have been "affected" by the war.

Cabinet secretary Dan Meridor said yesterday overall charge of the

assistance to be rendered the homeless Palestinians remains in the hands of Economic Minister Ya'acov Meridor, who is responsible for coordinating Israeli assistance to the war ravaged areas.

Meridor said the cabinet has taken no decision to supply funds for solving the problem of Palestinian homelessness in southern Lebanon. "We are speaking at the moment of technical assistance and coordination," he said.

The cabinet statement clearly places the main responsibility for caring for the refugees and finding them accommodation for the impending winter months, on the shoulders of the Lebanese Government.

A senior Israeli official said the Beirut government officials operate freely throughout southern Lebanon and they have the means to handle the problem, or can obtain them.

The Israeli government, said the (Continued on Page 3)



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CHICAGO	17	23	63 73
COPENHAGEN	11	17	52 63
FRANKFURT	17	23	63 73
GENEVA	14	21	57 70
Helsinki	15	21	59 70
HONG KONG	25	27	77 81
Johannesburg	5	11	41 52
LONDON	14	21	57 70
LONDON	18	24	64 75
MADRID	13	19	55 66
MONTREAL	17	23	63 73
NEW YORK	22	28	72 82
OSLO	15	21	59 70
PARIS	18	24	64 75
RIO DE JANEIRO	13	19	55 66
SAO PAULO	9	15	48 59
STOCKHOLM	12	18	54 64
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THE WEATHER

Jerusalem	Humidity	Yesterday's	Today's
Jerusalem	27	18-30	32
Golan	20	12-20	30
Nahariya	62	20-30	30
Safed	28	18-28	29
Haifa Port	28	24-29	30
Tiberias	28	—	37
Nazareth	40	20-31	32
Afula	44	22-33	34
Shomron	66	20-30	31
Tel Aviv	59	25-30	30
B-G Airport	51	22-31	33
Jericho	27	23-36	38
Qaza	73	22-28	30
Beersheba	18	18-33	34
Eilat	14	25-39	40

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

President Yitzhak Navon, Mayor Teddy Kollek and other dignitaries attended the dedication yesterday of a walkway in Jerusalem's Sderot Ben-Maimon in memory of Eliahu Sasson, who was minister of police and posts and a Jerusalem Worthly.

An exhibition of art and handicrafts made by pensioners in Jerusalem's municipal old-age clubs opened yesterday at the municipal gallery in 17 Jaffa Road. A bazaar of handicrafts by the elderly will be open during the same period from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. in the Auster Garden, opposite the municipality building.

Ten Haifa University students taking courses in ways of bridging the social gap between Israel's ethnic groups, have received scholarships worth \$54,200 from the J.Oledna foundation of France's Alliance Israel.

ARRIVALS

A mission of 23 leaders of the St. Paul, Minnesota United Jewish Fund and Council led by campaign chairman, Rabbi Bernard S. Raskin.

A second special Prime Minister's Mission, consisting of 250 top UJA leaders from the U.S., arrived in Israel today. The group, led by UJA President Herschel Blumberg, will remain for three days, at the invitation of Prime Minister Menachem Begin.



Rudi Avrahami 4½-year-old Tel Aviv boy, and U.S. actor Peter Strauss, have been trying to get in touch with each other. The reason? The boy was named after "Senator Rudi Jordache," the character Strauss portrayed in the TV series, *Rich Man, Poor Man*. Rudi's mother, Malka, said she was impressed deeply with the senator's looks and character in the programme and decided to name her son after him. Strauss learned of his "namesake" on his current visit to Israel. The Avrahami family live on Rehov Bar-Ilan.

Anti-nuclear meeting opens in Tokyo

TOKYO (AP). — The 1982 World Conference Against Nuclear Weapons opened here yesterday with some 600 delegates from 36 countries.

After an opening speech by Nobuo Kusano, Director of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuiko), the participants offered a one-minute silent prayer for victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and victims of recent torrential rains in Nagasaki.

The conference is co-sponsored by about 20 Japanese pacifist, union and civic organizations, including the Communist-backed Gensuiko and the Socialist-backed Gensuikin.

HOME & WORLD NEWS

VAT, war loan will also help cover budget deficit

Post Economic Reporter

Treasury sources estimate that unless the Lebanon war escalates further, the cash required to finance the war will amount to some \$13 billion, at July prices. This is about half the amount to be raised by the 3 per cent addition to the value added tax, the war loan, and the other fiscal measures recently taken by the Treasury.

The extra money raised from the public will therefore in fact partially finance the \$24 billion deficit in the budget for which there was no cover when the budget was presented.

Without the revenues now expected, over and above the actual cost of the war, the Treasury would have had to print the cash to cover this deficit.

Treasury sources expect this extra revenue to enable the Treasury to reduce its printing of currency, so that the inflationary pressures that were in the offing may be lessened, despite the war.

A further factor that is likely to ease the inflationary pressure of the war is that the Defence Ministry has agreed to spread its re-equipment and re-stocking of material over two years.

No air link to Eilat for fifth day in a row

Arkia's flights remained grounded for a fifth day yesterday, with no end in sight to a work dispute that has left Eilat cut off by air since last Wednesday.

The airline's pilots said last night that they had received an explicit assurance from their colleagues in El Al — who belong to the same union — that they would refuse a request by the Arkia management made Saturday night to take over Arkia's Tel Aviv-Eilat flights for the duration of the dispute.

The Arkia pilots sent a telegram yesterday to Transportation Minister Haim Corfu asking him to force the airline management to honour its contract with the pilots and not to go ahead with its plan to fire 29 pilots.

For its part, the Arkia management yesterday locked out the airline's ground crews and said it would not pay them for time not worked in support of the pilots.

Yesterday the pilots' works committee met with Histadrut officials in a fruitless attempt to work out a compromise with management. Similarly, the pilots' national union failed last night to come up with a solution. Labour Ministry officials have scheduled a series of meetings today with all sides in the dispute, in an attempt to find a solution. (Him)

Eitan: Geva 'abandoned' his troops

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Eli Geva, who asked to be relieved of his post as the commander of a brigade besieging Beirut because he opposed attacking the city, had "abandoned" his soldiers. That is why his requests to fight as a regular crew member in a tank or to be responsible for the evacuation of casualties were denied, Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan told military correspondents here yesterday.

Geva yesterday declined to comment on Eitan's remarks. Geva's former unit took part in yesterday's battle in Beirut.

Eitan recalled that during one of the many discussions they held, Aluf-Mishne (now res.) Geva suggested he receive an order, refuse to obey it, and be jailed. Then everybody would emerge honourably from the entanglement, Geva added, according to Eitan.

"I told him it would not be an honour to sit in jail over such an issue," Eitan said.

He said he did not discuss Geva's feelings. He recalled having told the outstanding tank-corps officer, "It is a great honour to command these soldiers, but also your duty to lead them even if you have doubts... They look up to you and you owe them your leadership."

Geva finally asked to take leave of his soldiers. That request was also denied. "Talking to soldiers is an honour of the first degree and I told him whoever abandons his soldiers has no right to stand up and address them," the Chief of Staff concluded.

Pope asks faithful to pray for peace in Lebanon

CASTELGANDOLFO, Italy (Reuters). — Pope John Paul yesterday renewed his call for peace in Lebanon.

"These are decisive moments for peace in the martyred land of Lebanon," the pontiff told crowds gathered at his summer residence here for the weekly Angelus prayer.

He said that after "so many dead and wounded, so much sorrow and deprivation in Beirut, in recent days there has seemed to be a ray of hope — agreement seemed possible, even near, after almost two months of bitter combat."

The Pope added: "The road is still long and barred with obstacles. We exhort you to pray harder; so that as soon as possible there can be agreement between the parties."

Tass: Embassy damaged deliberately

MOSCOW (Reuters). — The official Tass news agency yesterday accused Israel of deliberately firing at the territory of the Soviet Embassy in Beirut and said it was "high time to put a strait-jacket on the Zionist killers."

An early Tass commentary on yesterday's assault on West Beirut said Israel was aiming at complete destruction of the city.

"Impudent Israeli hands have several times deliberately fired rockets and phosphorous shells at the territory of the Soviet Embassy and trade mission... which have caused substantial material damage," Tass said.

The agency said bombs and rockets were also exploding near the Tass offices but it made no mention of any Soviet casualties. Moscow has several times complained that its embassy had been hit by Israeli gunfire.

The agency said Israel was determined to foil any possible peaceful settlement of the Lebanese conflict and sought the physical elimination of PLO forces.

It repeated earlier charges that the U.S. endorsed and supported the Israeli invasion of Southern Lebanon.

PLO's UN man in trouble with Arafat

NEW YORK. — Zehdi Terzi, the PLO's observer at the UN, may be fired for stating publicly that the PLO does not accept Resolution 242, according to the latest issue of *Newsweek*.

Arab diplomats told *Newsweek* that PLO leader Yasser Arafat was furious at Terzi over the matter, and sent Terzi "probably the toughest cable of his career, telling him not to comment again on the 'document' signed by the PLO chairman last week reportedly endorsing UN resolutions on the Palestinians."

The sources told *Newsweek* that Terzi might be replaced because of the gaffe.

Newsweek also reports that when Syria downed an Israeli Phantom jet over the Bekaa Valley late last month, Israel, in order to keep its secrets out of Syrian and Soviet hands, sent fighter-bombers to obliterate the fallen jet.

Egyptian warns of PLO 'radicalization'

WASHINGTON (AP). — Fighting in Lebanon threatens to radicalize the Palestinian movement, and this radicalization will have a snowballing impact on the Arab movement in general... This will be the catalyst for radicalizing the Arab movement in other countries and the U.S. will be viewed as an accomplice," he said on CBS's *Face the Nation*.

El-Baz said the U.S. could have prevented the Israeli invasion or asked Israel to stop the fighting. He repeated statements that Arabs and others in the region believe the Israelis are "receiving some kind of an American green light."

Moslem 'sa viour' held for sedition in Egypt

CAIRO (AP). — A Moslem sheikh whose followers believe he is the promised saviour of the world has been arrested along with 13 members of his sect, police sources said yesterday.

The sources said the group was tentatively charged with preaching anti-Islamic ideas and forming an illegal organization bent on challenging the basic principles of the state. A list of more specified charges is being prepared and is expected to be made public within a week or so, the sources added.

The weekly *Akhbar el-Yom* said the organization, called The Hashimite League, consisted of only 11 members including the sheikh, who were arrested a couple of months ago. But police sources said three more persons were arrested yesterday.

Guatemalan publisher freed for ransom

GUATEMALA CITY (AP). — Leftist guerrillas who abducted a Guatemalan newspaper publisher on March 5 freed him unharmed on Saturday after his family paid a ransom of an undisclosed amount.

Alvaro Contreras Velez, 61, editor and co-owner of the conservative newspaper *Prensa Libre*, said his captors held him for eight days in a basement.



Teenagers from Tyre receive instruction yesterday in artificial respiration as part of a first-aid course in Jerusalem sponsored by the Maronite Church, Magen David Adom and the city of Jerusalem.

Dead Sea Works to open after labour dispute ends

Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEERSHEBA. — The gates of the Dead Sea Works in Sdom will open again this morning after a face-saving formula was found yesterday to settle the dispute between workers and management.

A discussion began at 10 p.m. yesterday at the firm's head offices in Tel Aviv to thrash out the details of the agreement.

The trouble at the Sdom plant began 11 days ago when 1,300 workers went on strike, because, they claimed, management had stopped adding a 3½ per cent premium to their salaries four months ago. The strikers effectively shut down the plant by not allowing any goods — bromine and chlorine — to leave the premises. When the storage areas were filled to capacity, management had to shut down the production machinery.

Last Thursday, police, at management's request, arrested five works committee members so they could appear in Tel Aviv Labour Court. They had previously boycotted the court, saying that management had no right to force them to open the plant when they did not honour outstanding agreements.

Yesterday the Trade Union Department of the Histadrut and the Beersheba Labour Council mediated between the parties.



A PLO gunman runs for safety after his car is hit by shrapnel from a shell in West Beirut yesterday. The tin shacks were destroyed by the explosion. (UPI telephoto)

IDF CAPTURES AIRPORT

(Continued from Page One)

artillery fire on the city was constant throughout the day.

All in all, yesterday's attack on West Beirut, even without the movement on the ground, was one of the heaviest days of fighting in the city since the campaign began in June. The airport taken by the IDF yesterday was virtually deserted of terrorists and the only permanent armed force in the area of the fighting was a Lebanese Army platoon deployed at a Red Cross station near the terminal building.

Over the past six weeks, Eitan explained, the terrorists had been infiltrating the airport at night and firing salvos of rockets and light arms fire at Israeli forces stationed to the south, or at traffic entering Beirut from Haifa in the direction of Aley and Ba'abda.

IDF units are currently deployed facing the Uzi refugee camp in the west and the Burj al-Barajne and Hal e-Saloun camps in the east. He said that there were no signs that either of these camps, at least in the areas directly in line with the IDF, were populated or that the PLO was heavily entrenched there.

He did not feel that yesterday's action had placed the IDF and the PLO nose-to-nose and did not think that IDF forces in Beirut are now more exposed to terrorist fire than before.

Eitan said that in contrast with the intense fighting in the Beirut area, other sectors of the front were silent yesterday.

It is still not clear who was behind Saturday night's attack on an IDF vehicle in which one soldier was killed, but an investigation is underway.

The Syrians made no overtly hostile moves yesterday, Eitan said.

The soldier killed Saturday was Samal Rishon Yitzhak Gis, 27.

After the cease-fire went into effect at 5 p.m., the Associated Press reported from Beirut that Lebanese police had estimated the day's casualties as at least 200 persons killed and 400 wounded. The police said that damage to the city is "running into the hundreds of millions of dollars."

PLO spokesman Bassam Abu Sharif told reporters that Israeli Phantoms and Kfir's had staged "171 bombing sorties" from dawn to mid-afternoon. If his figures are accurate, they could mean nearly 1,000 tons of explosives were dropped on the terrorist positions.

The PLO also claimed to have repulsed two amphibious landing attempts by IDF units, aimed at establishing a beachhead near the devastated Summerland Hotel on Beirut's southern flank, about halfway between the airport and the capital. The IDF spokesman denied the report.

The AP reports that the PLO fired barrages of Katyusha rockets, Grad missiles, mortars and artillery shells into Christian-populated East Beirut and the Christian port of Jounieh, 20 kilometres north. The Christian Phalange Voice of Lebanon radio station said 15 civilians were killed and 40 wounded in East Beirut from the PLO barrages and that Christian militiamen refrained from firing back.

ROOF. — Work to construct a roof over Jerusalem's Mahane Yehuda market will begin soon. The roof will let in light while protecting shoppers from the sun in summer and rain in winter.

Tyre teenagers visit Jerusalem

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Ten teenage Christian girls from Tyre were warmly received at the Jerusalem municipal building yesterday by Mayor Teddy Kollek.

The girls are guests of the municipality and the Jerusalem Foundation, which is taking them on a week-long tour of the city. During the week, they are participating in a first-aid course with Israeli Magen David Adom trainees. They also took part in the opening last night of Jerusalem's Youth Capital.

Kollek explained to the guests that the Temple was constructed of cedars from Lebanon. They did not discuss politics or the war in Lebanon, but expressed heartfelt hopes that there will soon be peace in the area.

French official seeks to improve ties

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

A senior French official agreed yesterday with Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Meir that the two countries must improve and intensify the consultations between them despite, or perhaps because of, their differences over the Palestine issue and the war in Lebanon.

Jacques Huntzinger, secretary for external affairs of the ruling French Socialist Party, assured Ben-Meir that his party leader, President Francois Mitterrand, regards the relations — and the differences — between France and Israel as between two friendly states.

Huntzinger, in Israel as a guest of the Israel Labour Party, stressed that France wants to see the PLO leave Lebanon, together with all other foreign forces. But France believes, he said, that the Lebanese problem cannot be divorced from the broader Palestinian issue.

Ben-Meir maintained that the first priority must be to oust the PLO from Lebanon. Regarding the Palestinian issue, Israel is committed to the Camp David accord as the only viable path to a solution, the deputy minister said.

CAMPS FOR SALE

Lebanon, fronting for "Zionist merchants" are supposedly offering "unprecedented sums" for land development schemes, according to the United Emirates newspaper *Al-Khaleej* yesterday. The paper claimed "Jewish and Arab brokers" have already paid \$770 million for the Tal al-Zaatar refugee camp.

MILITARY

(Continued from Page One)

echelons of the administration besides Reagan.

An authoritative cabinet source conceded that while special envoy Philip Habib had assured Israel that progress would take place rapidly in a day or so, Jerusalem could not see any basis for Habib's optimism. Israel could not see or hear any evidence that the PLO was getting ready to go. On the contrary, all the evidence available to Israel showed that the PLO was still playing for time.

The source said that the PLO leaders were apparently exploiting American involvement merely to get the siege relaxed.

Israel always said that it would not feel itself committed to reply to PLO violations of the cease-fire with the same weapons, in the same sector, and with the same intensity as the PLO. The IDF preferred to choose a weapon and a tactic which would spare its men's lives yet would be effective as retaliation.

The prime minister told Habib only last Tuesday that Israel would "hit the PLO hard" if the PLO broke the cease-fire, the source said. "Now that they have indeed been hit hard we hope they will keep the cease-fire," the source said.

The source said that denying Beirut residents water and electricity from time to time was more humane than taking measures which could cause loss of life.

The source stressed emphatically that Israel's military and other pressures did not hamper the Habib mission. "On the contrary,"

The source said that military pressure was employed after the PLO violated the cease-fire and only then. At other times, non-military pressure was used in the siege. These two approaches were not contradictory. They were entirely separate, he said.

Habib had not offered any explanation as to why he did not deliver the goods from the PLO when the city was quiet, any faster than when there was shooting and siege conditions, the source said. For nearly 10 days at one stretch, the source said, there had been no shooting, yet the negotiations remained bogged down.

To the President of the Zionist Organization of America.

Mr. I. Novick

We share your profound grief on the death of your

Wife

Executive Committee
Kfar Silver Administration

ZOA House in Tel Aviv
extends heartfelt condolences to

Mr. IVAN J. NOVICK
President, Zionist Organization of America
on the sudden and untimely passing of his beloved wife.

NATALIE ז"ל

Our deep sympathy goes out to the entire family in their bereavement.

ZOA House Management Committee

We extend our heartfelt condolences to the Gilbert family on the passing on July 29 of

JOE GILBERT

Long time head and loyal friend of British Habonim.

Ichud Habonim
World Secretariat

The World Union of General Zionists
are saddened by the passing of

NATALIE NOVICK ז"ל

and extend sincere condolences to her husband, the prominent member of the World Executive.

Mr. Ivan Novick
President of the Zionist Organization of America and the entire family.

Jacques Torczyner
President

Mordechai Dahan
Chairman of the Executive

הכזה מן הארץ

Mapam urges government to cease shooting in Beirut

By SARAH HONIG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Mapam central committee yesterday urged the government not to attempt to occupy West Beirut, to maintain the cease-fire and to strive for the removal of the terrorists by diplomatic means only.

At yesterday's first meeting since the outbreak of the war, the committee also demanded that no shelling be directed at residential areas, and that water, electricity, and essential supplies not be withheld from West Beirut. Mapam secretary-general Victor Shemtov told the body that "the cabinet was misled about the course, aims and extent of the war. Had the ministers known in advance what was being prepared, they would have voted against it," he argued.

He said that already on the second day of the operation, Mapam leaders realized how extensive the war would be. "On June 7 I already warned the public that we were being led into Beirut," he said.

He deplored the fact that some members have made statements not in keeping with the party line. "Those of us who do not speak in one voice give comfort to the government and are used by it," he said, apparently referring to MK

Imri Ron and Jerusalem branch head Hillel Ashkenazi, both of whom have dissented from Mapam's line. "We in Mapam do not wish to muzzle anyone, and we have full freedom of debate in the party, but we want members to defend party decisions," he stated.

Shemtov argued that "it is difficult these days to be a Mapam member or an Alignment member in view of the incitement against us by the prime minister."

Mapam's Alignment partner, Labour, meanwhile, preferred not to make any official statements on the situation, with the party spokesmen noting that Thursday's political bureau resolution against aerial bombing of West Beirut still stands, "and there is no need for a new statement." But very high-ranking sources in the party said that "a situation is being created in which it would soon no longer be necessary for us to speak against the penetration of West Beirut, since there will be nothing left to conquer." These top party sources said they are extremely concerned by the heavy fighting in the Beirut area yesterday.

Meanwhile, party chairman Shimon Peres plans to fly off this morning for a 10-day visit to the U.S.

IDF: Half million civilians in W. Beirut

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Some 500,000 civilians are still in West Beirut, IDF sources estimated yesterday. Most of those in the PLO-controlled part of the city are Moslems and there is no information on any Jews who might still be there.

The sources told *The Post* they do not believe any Europeans are still in West Beirut since foreign embassies have advised their citizens to leave. Thus the only Europeans still likely to remain are embassy personnel and foreign correspondents. Canada's Ambassador, whose house in the western sector was bombed last week, announced his decision

to stay on although he has moved his family out of the besieged quarter.

The IDF sources also estimate PLO forces in the city at 6,000 men. These are reinforced by what is left of Syria's 85th brigade. The sources said it is now somewhat over battalion strength.

There was no information on the size of the various leftist militias in town.

The enemy is not short on arms, the *Post* was told. These include 130mm cannons, 122mm and other Katyusha rockets, Grad missiles, T-34, T-54, and T-55 tanks as well as Sagger anti-tank missiles and anti-aircraft guns.

Lebanese Druse to pray in Israel

By YOEL DAR
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Several hundred Lebanese Druse are expected to flock this morning to Hittin village near Tiberias to pray at the Druse shrine of Nebi Shu'eb.

On the eve of the first visit of Lebanese Druse to Israel in 35 years, Sheikh Kamel Tarif, an Israeli Druse dignitary, said yesterday that *his* must be the best time to miss the historic opportunity to gain the hearts and minds of the more than 300,000 Druse in Lebanon.

He told *The Jerusalem Post* that the Druse dignitaries who he met

last week in Lebanon are ready to cooperate with Israel if their major demands are met. They urge the replacement of Phalange roadblocks at the entrance to their villages by Israeli soldiers.

Likud MK Amal Nasr e-Din told *The Post* that he and Sheikh Amin Tarif last week narrowed the gap between the Druse leaders in Lebanon and persuaded the Maronite and the local Druse to open a new chapter in their relations.

The MK said Israeli authorities have replaced the Phalange roadblock at the entrance to Aley township with IDF soldiers.

Israel Arabs denied visits to Lebanon

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Hundreds of applications by Israeli Arabs to visit relatives in Lebanon have been turned down by the military authorities due to security reasons, it was reported yesterday.

The applicants were told that the roads leading to the Palestinian camps and particularly to Ain Hilwe

are still unsafe, and that terrorists are still at large.

The Israeli Arabs are said to be concerned over the situation in the camps and want to help their relatives.

Meanwhile Israeli authorities recently began to allow persons holding Lebanese passports to visit their relatives in Galilee for short periods.

War correspondents to meet here next year

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — American columnist Jack Anderson will be among those participating in an international conference being planned for next year for correspondents who covered the war in Lebanon, Knesset manager Gidon Rivlin said at a

press conference yesterday.

After three days of accompanying Anderson in Lebanon as an IDF press officer, Rivlin said he is sure that Israel's post-war relations with Lebanon will encourage tourism and conventions here, since travelers would be able to take combined tours of Israel and Lebanon.

Jamaican named to Baha'i ruling body

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Glenford Mitchell, secretary and chief executive officer of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'i faith in the U.S., has been elected to the nine-member Universal House of Justice, the supreme governing body of the faith whose world center is here.

He was chosen in a by-election by representatives of the 133 national governing bodies of the world Baha'i community to succeed Amos Gibson, who died here recently.

Mitchell, 47, is a Jamaican-born

U.S. citizen who was educated at Columbia University's School of Journalism. He is a former assistant editor of the *Africa Report* magazine and served as a lecturer in English at Howard University for four years before his election to the U.S. Baha'i post. He will move to Haifa with his wife and daughter, a spokesman for the world center told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

Delegates from the Baha'i national spiritual assemblies throughout the world will hold their international convention here next April.

OUTPATIENT WING. — The Public Works Department has begun construction of an outpatient wing at Holon's Wolfson Hospital. It will take about two years to complete the \$130 million project.

DEDICATION SERVICE

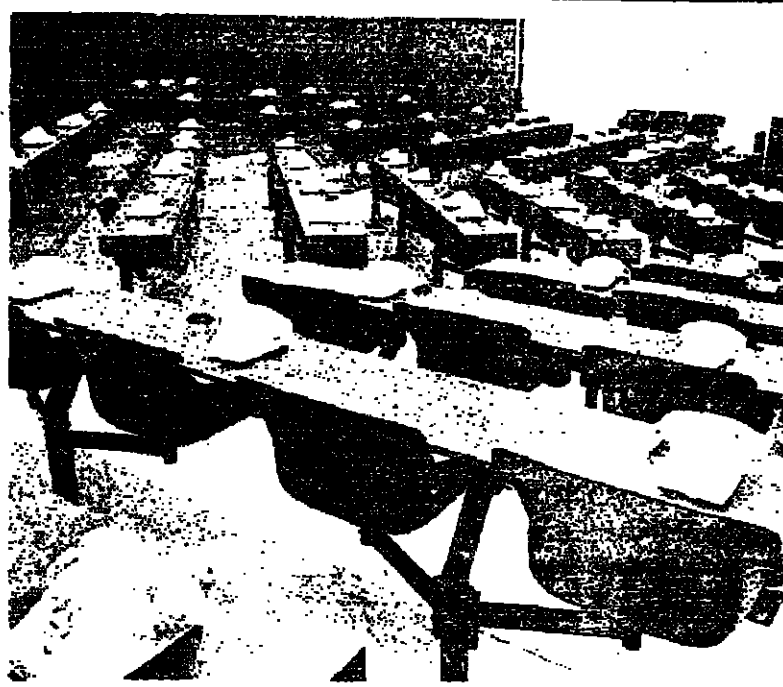
will take place on Wednesday, 4.8.82, at 4 p.m. prompt in the presence of

the President of Israel, Mr. Yitzhak Navon; the Prime Minister, Mr. Menachem Begin; the Chief Rabbi, Rabbi Shlomo Goren and Rabbi Ovadia Yosef; Sir Isaac Wolfson and guests from Israel and abroad.



Entrance strictly limited to invited guests holding Admission Tickets. We regret that all the Synagogue places are taken and no additional places are available. The portals of the Synagogue will be closed at 3.45 p.m. prompt. Guests are requested to be seated by 3.30 p.m. The ceremony will be transmitted to the Main Convention Hall in Herta and Paul Amirson on closed circuit television. Tickets are available at the information desk of Herta and Paul Amirson from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Guests are reminded that formal dress is requested.



Hundreds of phones in the Hebrew University Senate room are ready to start ringing tomorrow, when they will be used to accept contributions to the Israel Defence Fund from viewers and listeners of the Broadcasting Authority's Libitrom.

(Scoop 80)

Libitrom campaign tomorrow

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel's airwaves will be almost completely mobilized tomorrow to promote the Libitrom — the joint Israel TV and Kol Yisrael Radio telephone for the Israel Defence Fund.

Speaking to reporters in Jerusalem yesterday, Broadcasting Authority director-general Yosef Lapid called the effort the longest such project ever undertaken by the authority. The minimum he expects to collect is \$1 million — the sum donated to previous telethons for handicapped children in Israel and for the Kampuchean refugee aid effort.

The aims of the defence fund are primarily to educate disadvantaged soldiers. In addition, some of the money will be spent on develop-

ment of weapons and protection of soldiers in the field, and for an increase of training exercises.

Radio broadcasts will begin at 6 a.m. and continue around the clock, on both the Second and Third Programmes. Mobile radio units from Beirut in the north to Eilat in the south will air reports from facilities that benefit from the defence fund and from donation centres around the country.

Israel TV will start its Libitrom broadcasting at 5.30 p.m., and will remain on the air until 2 a.m. Wednesday or possibly later.

As many as 320 phone lines donated by the Communications Ministry will be staffed by hundreds of women soldiers. No money may be brought to the Broadcasting Authority. All contributions must be brought to banks which have special accounts for Libitrom.

Great Synagogue of Jerusalem to be dedicated

Jerusalem Post Reporter

President Yitzhak Navon, Prime Minister Menachem Begin, the chief rabbis, cabinet ministers and members of the diplomatic corps will be among the 1,800 persons attending this week's dedication of the Great Synagogue in Jerusalem, the largest and most costly synagogue ever built in Israel.

Located adjacent to the seat of the Chief Rabbinate, Hechal Shlomo, the \$14.5 million house of worship will open on Wednesday

afternoon, when guests in formal dress will be the first to sit in the red plush-and-oak seats.

Sir Isaac Wolfson, who donated \$8 m of the cost of the building, is expected to attend, despite a recent illness.

The ceremony will begin with the sounding of a ram's horn, the affixing of the *mezuzah* by Jerusalem's Sephardi Chief Rabbi Shalom Mashash, the kindling of the perpetual light and the *menorah*. A procession of Tora scrolls will follow.

Research team to report on hypersonic engine

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Over 300 leading researchers in combustion, including seven from Hungary and 50 from Israel, have registered for the 19th international symposium of the Pittsburgh-based Combustion Institute, to open at the Technion next Monday.

Some 161 scientific papers on coal combustion, internal-combustion engines, air pollution, industrial applications, uncontrolled fires and low-calorie fuels will be presented during the five-day meeting.

A research team from the Technion and Rafael, the armaments development authority, will present a theoretical paper on scramjet aircraft engines. These are based on rocket propulsion and may increase speeds ten-fold into the hypersonic speed range.

Prof. Dov Katz, of the Technion's materials engineering department, said a paper will also be given on detonation, a subject with possible military applications. Katz, who is symposium chairman, said the Combustion Institute has branches in 20 countries and this will be the fifth symposium to be held outside the U.S.

Court challenge to ban on Lebanese imports

The High Court of Justice will hear a challenge to the IDF ban on soldiers importing goods from Lebanon, it was announced yesterday.

Justice Aharon Barak gave the chief of staff and the state 15 days to justify the measure. But he refused to issue a temporary order allowing returning soldiers to bring back goods legally purchased.

The petition was filed by Roland Roth, an attorney in civilian life, who stressed that there is no basis for the ban in the military law, arguing that customs regulations are the province of the Finance Ministry, not the army. At all other ports of entry, he said, returning Israelis are allowed to bring in small items for personal use, duty-free. (Itim)

Jerusalem man remanded in wife's shooting

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A 55-year-old man, who claimed he accidentally shot his wife on Friday, was remanded for 10 days yesterday by the Jerusalem Magistrate's Court. The court also ordered his name withheld from publication.

The woman, 40, was reported in stable condition at the Shaare Zedek Hospital, where she is under treatment for a bullet wound in the chest.

The wife reportedly had returned unexpectedly from abroad on Thursday, to find her husband with another woman in their home.

The man claims that on Friday his wife pulled a knife and demanded that he leave the house. He said he pulled out his gun to force her to drop the knife and the gun went off.

GYNECOLOGY CLINIC. — A gynecology outpatient clinic named for Binyamin Eckerling was recently dedicated at Beilinson Hospital in Petah Tikva.

LEBANESE REFUGEES

(Continued from Page One)

official, lack funds and in any case, if it began dealing with the problem directly, would "no doubt be blamed for whatever shortcomings occurred, while receiving no credit for whatever positive (things) emerged."

The official said the Israeli decision is "in line with Israel's constant policy regarding the Arab refugee problem — that it is the responsibility of the Arab host governments."

No Israeli officials questioned were able to give an estimate of how much it would cost to build new housing for the refugees or how the problem could be solved by winter.

The cabinet yesterday also "decided to establish a ministerial committee headed by minister (without portfolio) Mordechai Ben-Porat to elaborate principles, ways and means for a solution of the refugee problem in the Middle East through their resettlement." Ben-Porat yesterday said that this is not directly connected to the cabinet's decision regarding housing

problems of south Lebanon refugees.

Ben-Porat said that the committee he will head, "which Ya'acov Meridor has tentatively expressed a desire to join," will check "the potential for the resettlement of the Palestinian refugees in their host Arab countries and will also look at the ongoing problems of the Jewish refugees from Arab lands."

Ben-Porat suggested that an international fund could be set up to finance the costs of solving "both sets of problems." He said the Jewish refugees from Arab lands, settled mostly in Israel, "continue to suffer from various problems stemming from their initial integration into Israel in the 1940s and 1950s."

Ben-Porat said the World Organization of Jews from Arab Lands, of which he used to be chairman, would be active in "offering suggestions" about solving the two refugee problems.

Ben-Porat declined to say what sums are involved, saying: "We are not yet speaking of money at this stage."

Treasury declines to fund Meridor's private R&D plan

Post Economic Reporter

Economic Coordination Minister Ya'acov Meridor has requested \$500,000 from the Treasury to register a private company to raise money for research and development — but the Treasury has turned him down.

Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, speaking yesterday on the radio programme "Press Conference", confirmed that the Treasury had refused the allocation.

The shareholders of the Meridor-planned company, to be called Icord, are unknown. The application for registration names as directors Elkana Caspi, Aharon Keidar and Ze'ev Czeizik. No one in the Treasury knows who owns the company.

Meridor hopes to raise \$50 million in the U.S., where the law provides tax shelters for research and development. This amount is to

be matched by \$50 million from anonymous investors in Israel, but Meridor still hopes the Treasury will come up with another \$100 million to match the private capital.

At present, some 500 enterprises receive government support for research and development, but in all cases this is given on a project basis. The chief scientist of the Ministry of Industry and Trade said that there is no reason to give a specific company preferential treatment.

When Meridor originally aired his idea of raising capital for R&D abroad and in Israel, the talk was of a government corporation or a government-controlled company, and not a company whose shareholders are anonymous.

Some Knesset members have already demanded that the matter be examined by the State Comptroller.

Six jailed for sit-in protest at Israel Consulate

Special to Jerusalem Post

NEW YORK. — Six American Jews have been charged with trespassing after their arrest yesterday for a sit-in at the Israeli Consulate to protest the war in Lebanon.

The six entered the consulate on Friday afternoon with an appointment to see information officer

Yuval Gat. After a two-hour conversation, they refused to leave unless Israel promised to provide tents for all war refugees and to allow a delegation from the anti-war group which they represented to visit Palestinian camps. Security officers carried the protesters to the lobby where they remained until their arrest.

'Youth Capital' week starts in Jerusalem

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Thousands of Jewish and Arab youths last night attended the opening of Jerusalem's week-long Youth Capital.

Events will take place in Sacher Park for older youths and in the Liberty Bell Garden for younger children. The Youth Capital is run by a youth council of 25 members

who represent youth clubs around the city.

There will be fairs, performances, sports competitions and games in the Liberty Bell Garden. A radio station will broadcast music and announcements, and a Jerusalem beauty queen will be selected. Youngsters will also visit elderly in Jerusalem, and mark a "police" and "army" day.

Iran orders Jewish pupils to wear yellow

LONDON (UPI). — An Iranian opposition group on Friday said Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini has ordered Jewish schoolgoers to wear special uniforms beginning the next academic year in October.

The Front for the Liberation of Iran, a Paris-based group led by former prime minister Ali Amini, also charged that retarded children are being sent to the war front to fight Iraqi forces.

The front called on the UN Human Rights Commission to intervene to stop the alleged moves. "The two most recent violations of the commission's covenants."

The front has provided the commission with documentary evidence showing that the Islamic republic has ordered Iranian Jewish pupils to wear yellow uniforms beginning the

next school year, and that the regime has sent retarded and crippled children to the battlefield. "The statement said."

Yesterday, the Tehran daily Kayhan reported that Iranian border patrols have arrested 24 Jews trying to smuggle hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of jewelry, antiques and foreign currency out of Iran.

The newspaper said the alleged smugglers, whom it referred to as "the agents of Zionism" were "arrested as they tried to cross the eastern border of Iran illegally."

It said they were being detained on orders from the revolutionary prosecutor of the holy city of Mashad, 159 kilometers northeast of Tehran near the border with Afghanistan.

Haifa garbage collectors returning to their jobs

HAIFA. — The city's 550 garbage disposal workers are to return to work this morning following a six-day strike.

The decision was taken yesterday although the men still refuse to recognize the temporary manager whom Mayor Arye Gur-Ei appointed to head the garbage disposal and transport departments, which have been merged. They insist that a manager can be appointed only after a tender for the job is published.

The men will also ask for the support of the Haifa Labour Council in the dispute.

A strike by nearby Kiryat Ata municipal employees following the non-payment of their June salaries is entering its third week.

3,000 youths march today in Jerusalem

Jerusalem Post Reporter

More than 3,000 Jewish youths from around the world will parade in Jerusalem this afternoon as a symbol of identification with Israel and Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

The participants in the World Zionist Organization's summer projects will march along Rehov King George, Rehov Ben-Yehuda, Rehov Hahistadrut and Rehov Hillel to Independence Park, starting at 4 p.m. An assembly addressed by WZO chairman Arye Dulzin will be held in Binyanei Ha'uma at the conclusion of the march.

Hashish smuggler gets four years in jail

HAIFA (Itim). — A man found guilty of smuggling hashish from Lebanon was sentenced here yesterday to four years in prison.

Moshe Madmon, 36, of Kiryat Haim, admitted during his trial that he and a group of Israeli accomplices smuggled 93 kilograms of hashish, and cigarettes and electrical appliances, from Lebanon in April, for sale mainly in the Gaza Strip.

Madmon's work as a contractor in Southern Lebanon entitled him to free passage across the border.

In passing sentence, Magistrate Haim Pizam said that "if our enemies wished to undermine us from within, they could find no better means than by spreading drugs."

The trials of Madmon's alleged accomplices will be held later.

Cabinet appoints new ministry directors

The cabinet yesterday appointed Tanhum Grizim director-general of the newly created Science and Development Ministry and appointed Aharon Beit-Halahmi acting director-general of the Defence Ministry.

Grizim comes to the post from the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot, where he has been vice-president since 1974. Beit-Halahmi has served since 1977 as head of research and development at the Defence Ministry.

Post dance critic receives award

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Dora Sowden, dance critic for *The Jerusalem Post*, yesterday received the Documents of Dance Award for 1982 at the Jerusalem Cinematheque.

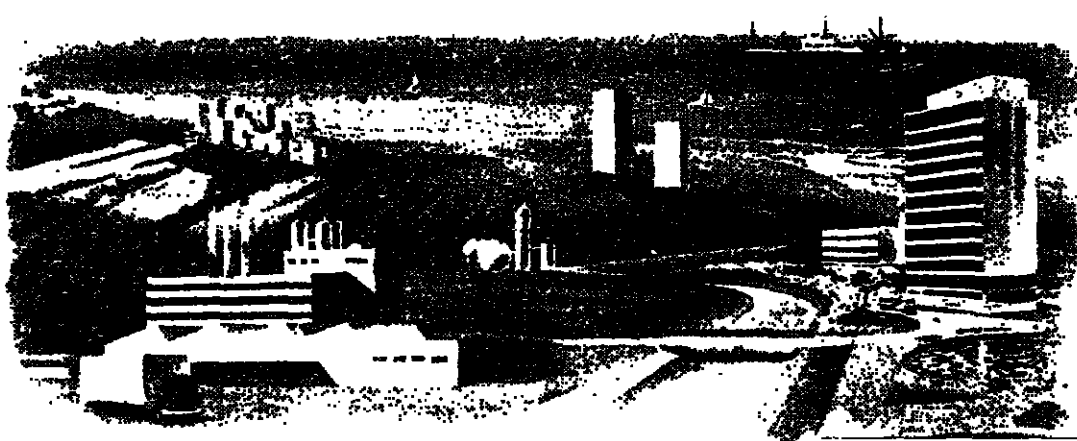
The award was presented by Ann Wilson Wang, international chairwoman of the Committee for the Dance Library of Israel. The ceremony took place as part of the dedication of the dance film archives at the Cinematheque.

The Dance Library, at 26 Rehov Bialik in Tel Aviv, includes books, periodicals, manuscripts, posters and playbills.

Saudi Arabia to replace Iraqi oil

NICOSIA (Reuters). — Iraq has arranged for Japanese customers to buy more than six million barrels of Saudi Arabian oil to replace Iraqi supplies following Syria's closure last April of the Iraq-Mediterranean pipeline, the *Middle East Economic Survey* (MEES) said yesterday.

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THE INSIDE TRACK

A perceptive guide to shopping and services in Jerusalem



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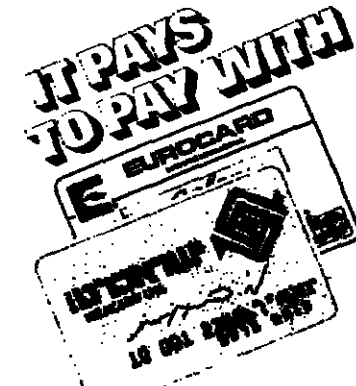
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Kenyan government claims it crushed coup

NAIROBI (AP). — Rebel troops attempted to topple Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi early yesterday but the government claimed the country's first coup attempt was quickly controlled by loyal soldiers and police.

At least eight persons were reported killed and 50 wounded, most by jittery troops trying to restore order and stop looting.

In a broadcast to the nation later, Moi thanked the army for its "total loyalty to me, to the government and to the people of Kenya."

The president, speaking in the Swahili service of Voice of Kenya from the State House in Nairobi, announced an indefinite night curfew in the capital and in Nanyuki, 145 km. to the north.

He warned that "anyone attempting to break into peoples' homes or loot personal property will be severely punished."

Moi ended his broadcast by saying without elaboration that "other matters will follow later."

Moi apparently was at his country

home at Kabarak, 200 km. north of the capital, when the coup was mounted about 6 a.m. local time. Ten hours later, he was seen driving into the capital, smiling and waving at people, escorted by three truckloads of soldiers.

It was not known if he was headed toward the State House, his official residence, or his private home in the capital. The State House area was inaccessible, and it was not known whether the government or the rebels controlled it.

The government, in a radio broadcast five hours after the rebellion was launched, claimed the coup had been crushed. Earlier, the rebels had proclaimed, "Moi's bandit gang is gone. People can now breathe..." But members of parliament are advised to hide in their houses for their own safety.

Although the government claimed to have put down the rebellion, the insurgents were barricading some of the roads leading to the centre of Nairobi, and a

police spokesman said that "mopping up" operations continued at Embakasi air base, about eight km. outside the capital. It was not clear whether fighting was still going on at the base.

Motorists reported being stopped and robbed at the roadblocks and cars were fired upon near the city centre. Civilians looted stores throughout the city, with some smashing windows of automobile showrooms and stealing cars.

The dead were all reported to be civilians, according to witnesses. Four were reported shot by rebel troops near the central post office after they ignored orders to halt. Hospitals reported receiving a total of about 50 wounded civilians and one wounded soldier.

According to police sources, the centre of the rebellion was Embakasi Air Base, which adjoins Jomo Kenyatta International Airport. The sources said the rebels were mostly non-commissioned officers and enlisted men.

The rebels, who called

themselves "The August 1 Revolution," said on a 6 a.m. broadcast that Moi's "corrupt and dictatorial" government was being overthrown because it had deviated from the path of Kenyan democracy.

They claimed a "national redemption council" had taken control. The radio message ordered an immediate curfew, said the constitution was suspended and instructed police to lay down their weapons. The rebels said the country's airports and borders had been closed, and claimed all political detainees had been released. Their broadcasts were sandwiched between western pop music.

Moi, 58, has been head of state since the 1978 death of Kenya's first president Jomo Kenyatta. In recent weeks, Moi has cracked down on dissidents opposed to his ruling Kenya African National Union, recently declared the country's only legal political party.

Gandhi likens U.S., USSR roles in third countries

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in a television interview yesterday equated U.S. involvement in El Salvador with the Soviet role in Afghanistan.

Asked why India maintained good relations with the Soviet Union, which the questioner said had deprived other countries of the freedom, Gandhi replied that "it's not just one country" that intervenes abroad. "There has been interference by one or another country in other parts of the world, in Latin America... Africa (and) Asia," she said. "It doesn't make sense for us to distinguish between them," added the Indian Premier, who is on a nine-day visit to the U.S.

Asked if she was equating U.S. support for the government of El Salvador, where Washington had

provided about 50 military advisers as well as financial aid, with the 1979 intervention by more than 80,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan, she replied: "It may not be exactly the same situation but the USSR (forces) were invited by the government there" because there already was outside help to the rebels.

India's refusal to join most other non-Communist and developing nations in strongly condemning Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has been a major irritant in U.S.-Indian ties, contributing to what Gandhi yesterday called "misconceptions" by Americans that she favoured the Soviet Union.

She said that clearing up those misconceptions was one purpose on her first U.S. visit since 1971, which included talks with President Reagan and other officials last Thursday and Friday.

Poles mark anti-Nazi revolt

WARSAW (UPI). — The 38th anniversary of the Warsaw uprising against Nazi occupation was marked here yesterday with official ceremonies, but hundreds of Poles used the opportunity to demonstrate their support for the underground union Solidarity.

Many of them bearing medals identifying them as anti-Nazi underground fighters, gathered at wreaths were placed at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and at a monument to the 1944 uprising. Hundreds more attended a mass,

at Warsaw's central church, dedicated to imprisoned Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. About 1,000 worked to replace a cross of flowers in memory of the late Cardinal Wisnianski after the previous one was again removed by police the night before.

The 12-metre cross has become a symbol of resistance to the military regime imposed last December. Yesterday afternoon prayers and hymns being chanted out loud by the crowd there nearly drowned out a military band playing nearby.

Iran, Iraq report artillery duels

NICOSIA (AP). — Iran and Iraq yesterday reported heavy exchanges of artillery across the disputed Shatt al-Arab waterway, and Iran claimed its forces scored several hits on Iraqi positions west of the north-south battlefield.

An Iraqi communiqué issued by the military command and carried by the official news agency said that in the past 24 hours of fighting Iraqi forces had pounded Iranian positions east of the vital oil port of Basra in southern Iraq killing 19 Ir-

anians and destroying two artillery guns.

An Iranian war report carried by the official IRNA news agency said Iraqi counter-offensives in the southern sector of the front were blunted despite heavy Iraqi shelling of Iranian positions inside Iraqi territory.

Both Iraq and Iran claimed residential areas of border towns lying on both sides of the 5-km battle front came under enemy artillery fire.

10 days' labour for swastika display

BONN (JTA). — A 29-year old Frankfurt resident was ordered by a court to work 10 days in an old age home for having displayed swastikas near the city's main railway station.

At his trial, the man told the judge that he did not see any harm in using the Nazi symbol, since it is legally done also in the U.S. and in Britain.

Both the state prosecution and the court came to the conclusion that the 29-year-old man was not politically motivated in wearing a coat decorated with swastikas taken from his father's World War II uniform. He was arrested with the coat while involved in a clash between soccer fans of two rival teams.

Canadians try to circle earth in record time

MONTREAL (AP). — Two Canadian flyers left Montreal yesterday in an attempt to set an around-the-world speed record and to raise money for cancer research.

Andre Daemen, 22, and Don Muir, 26, took off eastward in their single-engine Cessna 210 from Montreal's Dorval Airport. Daemen, a flying instructor, and Muir, a bush pilot, hope to complete the circumnavigation in six days, five hours.

That would break the existing mark of seven days held by Seattle lawyer Robert Mucklestone. The two will have fewer rest stops and carry less fuel for greater speed. They hope to raise \$1 million for cancer research during the flight.

Soviet strike sparked by sex crime

MOSCOW (Reuters). — Factory workers went on strike in Soviet Georgia recently, demanding that police hand over a man alleged to have raped and strangled the five-year-old daughter of a colleague, informed Soviet sources said on Saturday.

The work-force of a factory in Kutaisi, Georgia's second largest city, downed tools for two days last month in protest over the crime, the sources said.

Police, fearing for the alleged killer's safety, refused the workers' demand that he be released into their custody and put before an impromptu court at the factory.

The strike was quelled by the intervention of senior Communist Party officials who promised a full investigation and a special televised discussion of the affair, with factory workers and local government officials participating.

The programme, broadcast in the Kutaisi region three weeks ago, included a frank discussion of the crime and angry calls for retribution against the alleged criminal.

Convictions for both rape and murder normally carry the death penalty in the Soviet Union.

Two Japanese die climbing Matterhorn

ZERMATT, Switzerland (AP). — Helicopters on Saturday recovered the bodies of two Japanese mountaineers who had spent a night of sub-zero temperatures and snow storms on the north side of the Matterhorn, in southern Switzerland.

A rescue official said the seven had decided to climb the 4,478-metre Matterhorn in the Vallis Alps despite weather warnings. The official said the two most likely froze to death.

Panama's government shakeup looks like a military coup

PANAMA CITY (AP). — Senior government officials agreed to quit Saturday night in line with a shakeup ordered by the National Guard following the resignation of President Aristides Royo.

Opposition leaders welcomed the power shuffle, but denounced National Guard commander Gen. Ruben Dario Paredes, 48, for shutting down Panama's eight newspapers for a week.

"The reality is that the National Guard has deposed the president and imposed a programme on his successor," said a statement signed by six opposition parties. Royo, 42, resigned on Friday, saying he was stepping down because of a throat ailment.

The National Guard is Panama's only military force and a major power in domestic affairs. Paredes has asked for the resignations of all high-ranking officials of Royo's administration.

Ricardo de la Espriella, the vice-president, was sworn in on Friday to succeed Royo. He presided on Saturday over a ceremony at

National Guard headquarters marking the first anniversary of the death of Gen. Omar Torrijos, the guard commander who seized power in 1968 and appointed Royo to a six-year term in 1978. Torrijos was killed in a plane crash.

Only one of Royo's 10 cabinet ministers attended the televised ceremony. Ernesto Perez Valledares, secretary of the ruling Democratic Revolutionary Party, indicated that all ranking government officials would heed Paredes' demand to resign by today. Paredes said on Friday that some would be reappointed and others replaced.

Political observers said the National Guard apparently ordered the shakeup more out of concern over the government's growing unpopularity at home than Royo's ties to Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Opposition parties won seven of the 57-member National Legislative council's 19 elected seats in the September 1980 elections. The other seats are appointed by the 505-member National assembly, where the ruling party controls all but one seat.

No clues yet in Munich airport bomb

MUNICH (AP). — Police said here yesterday they still have no clues as to who set a bomb that injured seven people at Munich's Riem Airport near the El Al counter.

The Bavarian Criminal Police yesterday refused to reveal details of DM30,000 (about \$13,000) for information about the explosion, which occurred at 3:14 p.m. local time (3 p.m. Israel time) Saturday and left only the steel skeleton of the airport corridor standing.

Five of the seven injured were released from hospital yesterday. Two who had been seriously hurt are still hospitalized, but authorities said their lives are not in danger.

The two still hospitalized are a German policeman and an Israeli security guard employed by the airline. Those released included

another German policeman, three Israelis (two men and a woman) and one German woman. Their names were not released.

No one has claimed responsibility for the bomb which was apparently hidden in a suitcase and caused about DM200,000 (\$82,000) in damages, authorities said.

"Concrete clues in regard to a suspicious person have up to now not been established," a special investigating commission of Bavarian criminal investigators and prosecutors said in a statement yesterday.

At the time of the explosion, there were few people in the corridor, but 380 were waiting in the departure area for two flights to Israel — a delayed flight run by El Al and a Lufthansa flight.

Several killed in Baghdad bombing

BEIRUT (Reuters). — A car bomb exploded outside the information section of the Iraqi Ministry of Planning in Baghdad yesterday and several people were killed or wounded, the official Iraqi news agent INA reported.

The agency said some of the dead were ministry employees but it gave no further details.

In another incident, a pro-Iranian group has claimed responsibility for a bomb attack Saturday night on the London office of *Askar al-Awsat*, a Saudi Arabian newspaper. London police said yesterday.

A spokesman said the group, which was not immediately named, made its claim in a telephone call to a news agency. No reason was given, he said. No one was hurt.

Speeding ruled out in French road crash

CREPY-EN-VALOIS, France (AP). — The remains of 44 children burned to death in the worst highway accident in French history were returned home yesterday.

Investigators said they had not determined the cause of Saturday's bus and car crash, which killed a total of 53 people, but they discounted earlier reports that speeding was to blame.

A prosecutor in neighbouring Dijon said yesterday he would open

an official inquiry into the accident, which could lead to indictments for involuntary homicide. The French government already is investigating the cause of the crash.

Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy said he would attend tomorrow's funeral services for the victims from Crepy-en-Valois, and messages of condolence, including one from Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat, continued to arrive from abroad.

Death toll now 11 in London bombings

LONDON (Reuters). — The death toll from two Irish Republican Army bomb attacks in London parks last month rose to 11 yesterday when another British soldier died from his wounds, a hospital reported.

The latest victim was a bandsman of the Royal Greenjackets who were giving a lunchtime concert in Regent's Park on July 20, when a bomb exploded under the bandstand. Six other bandsmen died immediately.

Four soldiers were killed by a separate blast the same day when a car bomb went off in Hyde Park.

Ethnic clashes, curfew in Sri Lanka city

COLOMBO (Reuters). — A dusk-to-dawn curfew remained in force for the third day yesterday in Sri Lanka's southern city of Galle after clashes between Sinhalese and Moslems.

At least two people have died and more than 100 have been injured in the communal clashes in five days of violence which led President Junius Jayewardene's government to declare a national emergency last Friday.

Press censorship has been imposed, applicable to both local newspapers and foreign correspondents.

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End Games

Cooling Off Beirut Crisis May Heat Up Many Others

By HEDRICK SMITH

A month ago, as victorious Israeli forces cornered the Palestine Liberation Organization in west Beirut, some politicians, columnists and a few Government officials were tempted to think the Israeli triumph had provided a dramatic opportunity to move toward a broad political settlement in the Middle East. The idea gained currency as Secretary of State George P. Shultz canvassed experienced outsiders such as former Secretary Henry A. Kissinger for their suggestions on longer-term strategy. Palestinian leaders dropped hints of concessions and maneuvered for political recognition as a price for evacuating west Beirut. At the United Nations, Egypt and France circulated an ambitious blueprint for the future of Lebanon, the West Bank and Arab-Israeli peace.

"You have to have a package" that would link a solution in west Beirut to broader political issues, advised Ashraf Ghorbal, the Egyptian Ambassador in Washington. "In the Middle East, you have to move when the right time comes. The world keeps missing opportunities for peace in the Middle East."

But the hard reality of the impasse in Beirut and the sheer complexity of finding new homes for the P.L.O. have caused the Administration to sharply narrow its focus and to leave the future of Lebanon and a Palestinian settlement for a later phase of negotiations. Early hopefulness gave way to the daily dogwork of diplomacy.

"Most of the people who were seeing greater opportunities in the Lebanese situation never had responsibility for dealing with the practical issues," a high State Department official grumbled. "The problem with reaching for the larger issues is that it turns attention away from the real world, namely that the Israelis have the P.L.O. surrounded in west Beirut, not vice versa."

The Arab League's endorsement of a P.L.O. evacuation formula and the willingness of Egypt, Syria and Jordan to receive portions of the 6,000 guerrillas in Beirut rekindled hopes last week for long-term diplomacy and ultimately for momentum toward Palestinian self-rule. But as always, a baffling cobweb of issues stood in the way of American ambitions. Americans and Israelis have been operating in tandem on west Beirut. But over the horizon, substantial differences loom on a range of issues. These include the Israeli use of cluster bombs, its policies in the West Bank, removal of Palestinian mayors in occupied Arab territory and annexation of the Golan Heights. Washington and Jerusalem may also divide over how to deal with the P.L.O., especially if its major component, Yasir Arafat's al Fatah, renounces terrorism and chooses a political path involving acceptance of Israel. For while Prime Minister Menachem Begin vows never to negotiate with Mr. Arafat, the United States is willing to talk with him if the P.L.O. formally recognizes Israel's right to exist within secure borders. Some American officials privately regard Mr. Arafat as more responsible and moderate than he sounds in public.

Rekindling Long-Term Hopes

Even before the hard nut of a Palestinian self-rule can be approached, Lebanon itself poses formidable problems. The Israelis and Lebanese want P.L.O. units around Tripoli in the North and East and 50,000 Syrian troops to leave Lebanon; the Arabs are wary of leaving until the Israelis also pledge to withdraw. Military issues interlock with political ones. American officials talk of the need for a strong central government, but for years Lebanon has had only a rickety political balance and minimal military muscle. Moreover, definitions of "strong government" differ. As Syrians and Israelis are pressed to withdraw, each will bargain to retain political influence through friendly factions—Maronite Christians for the Israelis, Moslems for the Syrians.

Another difficult question concerns security along the Israeli-Lebanese border and the thousands of Palestinian refugees there. Israel wants the inadequate United Nations forces to be reinforced by a multinational force and a patchwork of local pro-Israeli Christian militias. Inexorably, the United States seems drawn toward an on-the-ground presence. Moderate Lebanese and Israelis want American forces to bolster the Lebanese Government after monitoring the P.L.O. evacuation. As Syrian and Israeli forces withdraw, some international force will be needed to fill the vacuum until the Lebanese military gains authority. For the moment, Congress has not balked, but American involvement is a touchy issue that may stir echoes of Vietnam.

From Washington's standpoint, the overall equation will have been significantly altered if the P.L.O. military arm is forced to quit Beirut and abandon terrorism. The possibility engenders hope for moderating Israeli policy toward the West Bank and Palestinian self-rule. As one experienced Middle East mediator observed, "The Israelis were constantly talking about their security fears and that must be the P.L.O.; now they can't make that case any longer." Secretary Shultz, at his confirmation hearings, criticized continuing Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the dismissal of mayors in the West Bank and Gaza Strip—part of Israel's crackdown on P.L.O. supporters and its effort to produce alternative Palestinian leaders through village leagues. Some American officials believe that Mr. Begin is not entirely sure the policy is effective or credible. A few hope he may sense the moment to back off and even put a ceiling on new West Bank settlements. Such moves would improve the climate for negotiations on the Palestinian issue, but they will not come easily.

The critical element, many diplomats believe, will be the Reagan Administration's willingness to move quickly and forcefully with clear, firm objectives and a delicate diplomatic touch. Some urge naming a high-level mediator with Presidential connections and diplomatic clout, like Mr. Kissinger, to sort out the pieces and get the peace process moving. "For Shultz himself to try to do all that," one former official said, "he'd have to give up being Secretary of State to the world." Mr. Shultz has kept mum about the diplomatic blueprint he will offer the President. Indeed, some who have talked with him say that the new strategy has yet to be determined.



Smoke billowing from a west Beirut residential area after Israeli air strike last week; U.S. envoy Philip C. Habib (left), P.L.O. leader Yasir Arafat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Major News

In Summary

Slow Search For Peace In the Rubble

The Palestine Liberation Organization, with a little help from its friends in the Arab League, last week inched closer to accepting Israeli-American terms for leaving besieged west Beirut. But the Israelis, deeply suspicious of Yasir Arafat's intentions, signaled their impatience by repeatedly bombing Palestinian neighborhoods and again preventing food, water and electricity from entering the city's Moslem sector. Middle-class residents were able to buy food and bottled water, but a UNICEF official warned that contaminated well water might spread typhoid among west Beirut's poor. One Israeli air strike hit a poor residential neighborhood killing 120 people, most of them civilians, police said.

After a meeting in Saudi Arabia with the Syrian, Saudi, Kuwaiti, Algerian and Lebanese foreign ministers, P.L.O. leaders agreed to leave Beirut with their men via the Syrian-held Bekaa valley. But before that, they insisted, Israeli troops must pull back and allow an international force with United States, French, Italian and Greek units—to move in to protect 60,000 remaining Palestinian civilians from hostile Israelis and Lebanese. Following a timetable to be accepted in advance, P.L.O. guerrillas would then go to Syria, Jordan and Egypt, which have agreed—conditionally—to accept them. Palestinian fighters linked to Iraq, however, preferred not to risk going through hostile Syria. They asked to leave by air.

A P.L.O. diplomatic mission would stay on in Beirut but would submit to Lebanese Government authority.

The Israelis, punctuating their arguments with bombs, artillery and naval shelling, rejected any phased withdrawal. They insisted their troops must remain in place until after the "terrorists" leave Lebanon. And reluctant Arab hosts were inter-

posing their own conditions. Egypt, for one, wanted the United States to open direct talks with the P.L.O. and to acknowledge the Palestinians' "right to self-determination," presumably for a state in the West Bank and Gaza.

Egypt and France put their ideas into a draft Security Council resolution that would also reaffirm United Nations endorsements of Israel's right to exist within secure borders. But Jerusalem adamantly opposed any hint of a Palestinian state and Washington cautiously avoided upsetting the Israelis while they remained poised to fight their way into west Beirut. The United States has refused to go beyond a vague suggestion that "the peace process would be enhanced if the P.L.O. withdrew" from the city.

In a surprise move, the Security Council last week unanimously called on Israel to let food and other supplies into west Beirut. But the United States didn't vote, protesting there had not been time to get instructions from Washington.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, meanwhile, momentarily upset Washington by announcing that the American special envoy, Philip C. Habib, had agreed to obtain "an unequivocal commitment" to withdrawal from the P.L.O. by Friday. "There are no deadlines of any kind," President Reagan insisted; Israel later agreed that was so.

Russian Grain Deal Extended

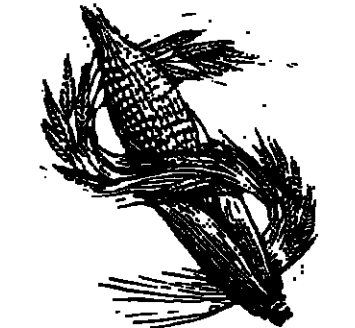
President Reagan had such a compelling list of reasons for extending the United States grain agreement with Moscow that some might wonder why it took him until last week to make up his mind to do it.

At the top of the list is the American farmer, buried in a glut of grain and facing the ironically unpleasant prospect of the second bumper harvest in a row. Prices for grain are a little more than half of what it costs

to grow it, and farm income is projected to plummet in 1983 to \$14 billion, down a dramatic \$9 billion from this year's dismal level.

Under the circumstances, it had grown increasingly hard for Middle Western Republicans to explain to their rural constituents why they had to suffer so the United States could punish the Soviet Union for its role in imposing martial law on Poland. Although the President refused to agree to a long-term grain accord, the one-year extension does pave the way for predicted record-level wheat and corn purchases by the Russians, who have had three disastrous harvests in a row and face a fourth.

Mr. Reagan has contended, furthermore, that the grain trade makes



the Soviet dependent on the United States, giving the Administration more potential political leverage. The United States share of Soviet grain imports fell from 70 percent in 1975 to 30 percent after Jimmy Carter blocked shipments in 1980.

Despite all this, the hard-liners in the Administration believed a renewal of the grain pact would undercut their justification for tough American sanctions against the Soviet-European gas pipeline. The irony has not been lost on European allies, who cited a double standard when the United States sells grain to the Russians while trying to block their sales of technology and equipment needed for the pipeline.

Many in the Administration believe that withholding grain is the best way to wring human-rights concessions from the Russians and make them spend more on agriculture and less on defense. In a surprising statement last week, however, the President said that past curbs on Soviet grain sales had "little impact on Soviet military and industrial capabilities." (Pressing Moscow, page 2.)

Is There Hope For Lebanon? Vote May Tell

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

BEIRUT, LEBANON
ONE way or another the Palestine Liberation Organization is going to leave Lebanon in the coming months. But while the negotiators and diplomats focus their attention on the fate of the P.L.O., many seem to have forgotten about the country they will leave behind. What is to become of Lebanon?

It is well and good for the Reagan Administration to declare that it wants a united Lebanon with a strong central government. But the test of whether such a state can be built on the debris of the Israeli invasion and the preceding eight years of disintegrating central authority is coming on fast. The Lebanese Parliament must elect a new president by Sept. 15, a week before the six-year term of President Elias Sarkis expires. His office embodies the legitimacy and unity of the state and the election is a reaffirmation of the Moslem-Christian consensus that holds the country together. In the throes of the present crisis, this Lebanon must now be re-enacted. For if elections cannot be held or a compromise candidate agreed upon, things could quickly become even worse.

According to an unwritten understanding between Moslems and Christians, agreed at the founding of the republic in 1943, the president must always be a Maronite Christian and the prime minister a Sunni Moslem. The delicate balance assures the country's Christian minority that they will not be swamped by the majority Moslems who make up at least 55 percent of the population. Despite everything that has happened, there has been no serious suggestion of changing these ground rules; both sides recognize them as essential if Lebanon is to work at all.

Only one candidate, Beshir Gemayel, has declared his candidacy for the presidency. Tough, ambitious and occasionally ruthless, the 35-year-old Mr. Gemayel is the overall commander of the Christian militias controlled by the Lebanese Front. The front is a coalition of Christian parties located in east Beirut. It is totally dominated by the Phalangist Party, which was founded and is still headed by Beshir's father, Pierre Gemayel.

The young Mr. Gemayel rose to prominence during the 1975-76 civil war, when he helped to lead the Christian militias in their efforts to crush the armed Palestinians in Lebanon as well as their leftist Moslem supporters. Since then, he has been an outspoken defender of a "Lebanon for the Lebanese" philosophy with emphasis on the need for a strong central government and army to provide an orderly climate for commerce, to control the 650,000 Palestinians in the country and to preserve Lebanon's independence from meddling by neighboring Arab states.

In nominating himself now for president, Mr. Gemayel is clearly seeking to take advantage of the Israeli presence, which has enabled him to enlarge the area under the control of his militia and has clearly tipped the balance of power in favor of the Christians. There can be little doubt that the Israelis support his candidacy, although many Moslems in west Beirut found it amusing that the Israelis chose to turn off the electricity in the sector just as Lebanese television was broadcasting his announcement speech.

Moslems Unimpressed

Mr. Gemayel's address, delivered in an impressive, forceful and statesmanlike fashion, was clearly designed as an overture to Lebanon's Moslems, without whose support he cannot win the two-thirds parliamentary majority required for election. Emphasizing that all "foreign" armed forces must be removed from Lebanon, including Israel's, Mr. Gemayel said unarmed Palestinians would be welcome to stay in the country—"no one wants to throw them into the sea or cause any harm to them." He even sent some friendly signals to the Syrians.

But many Moslems did not buy it. Rashid Karami, leader of North Lebanon's Moslems, asked sarcastically whether "violence has now become a characteristic of presidential candidates." Walid Jumblatt, a Druse chief-tain and leader of the coalition of leftist Moslem parties, protested that "it would be better if the Israelis appointed a high commissioner."

Selim al-Hoss, the former Moslem Prime Minister and leading conservative Sunni Moslem, said, "We know this man's past. The next president of Lebanon cannot be a combatant who reaches across the green line (separating east and west Beirut) to shake our hand. It must be someone who has been above the green line all along."

The Phalangists say privately that the Moslems are simply posturing and that as soon as they "get the Palestinians off their backs" they will come around to accept Mr. Gemayel, but this could be a serious miscalculation. In the next few weeks several scenarios are possible.

The Moslems could agree on another candidate and win enough support from Maronite parliamentarians to get him elected. Gaby Lahoud, a former director of military intelligence and a favorite of President Sarkis, is frequently mentioned. Even more frequently mentioned is former President Camille Chamoun, who, although supposedly allied with Mr. Gemayel, has given him his "blessing," but not the endorsement of his own little party.

Alternatively, Mr. Sarkis could be prevailed upon to reluctantly extend his term another two years. Or a transitional government could be formed to create conditions for a new election.

Finally, there could be trouble, and lots of it. In his address, Mr. Gemayel warned that despite the presence of Israeli troops and the siege of west Beirut, the elections must take place at their constitutionally designated time.

"Whoever thinks of obstructing, preventing or delaying the election," he said ominously, "must consider seriously the repercussions and consequences." He did not spell out what the Phalangists would do if voting was postponed, but it would likely not be healthy for the unity of Lebanon.

Japan gets serious about defense spending

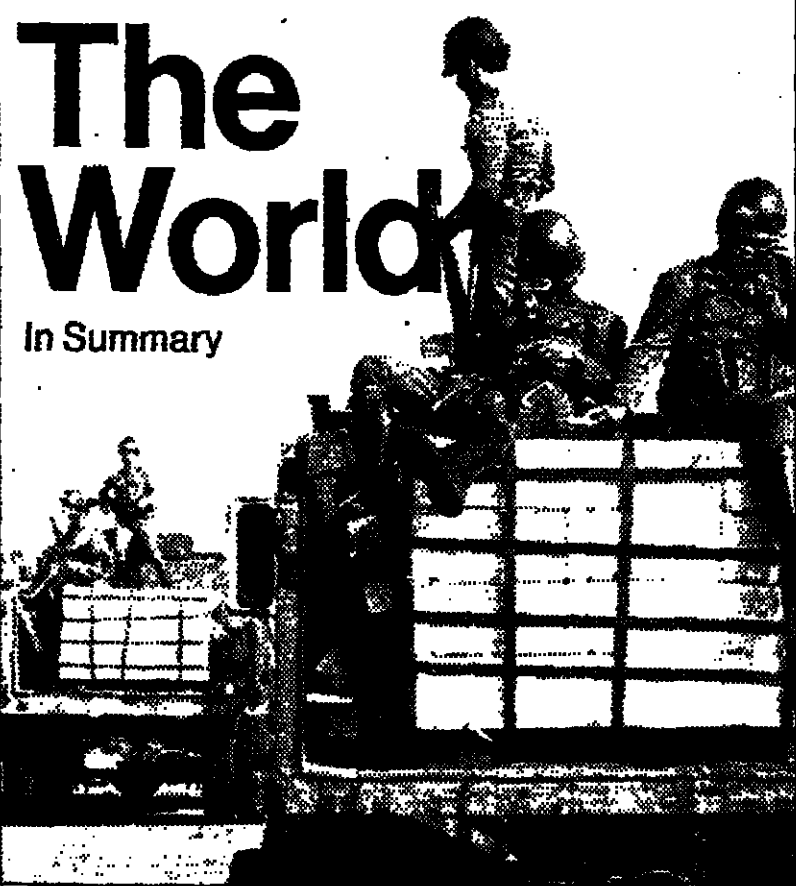
3



People with people in mind.



bank leumi בנק לאומי



National Guardsmen on trucks carrying ammunition unloaded from an American freighter in Catutla, El Salvador last month. *Sydney Jack Heyman*

El Salvador Gets a Low but Passing Grade

Progress on human rights and land reform in El Salvador wasn't great, but it was "tangible," the Reagan Administration said last week. "I am quite sure that there are unfortunate things that are going on," the President said at his news conference. But "they legitimately and in good faith are making progress." So, as expected, the Administration requested a Congressional green light for \$142 million in military aid for Salvador this year and next.

Senator Christopher J. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut, called the certification "a sham" and Representative Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of New York, called it "unwise and unjustified."

Congress requires the President to certify human rights and land reform progress every six months as a condition of aid. But Mr. Reagan, distancing himself from Congressional criticism, let Secretary of State George P. Shultz sign last week's report. It conceded that "severe civil strife... continues to produce serious and frequent violations of basic human rights committed by leftist guerrillas, right-wing terrorists and members of the Government's military and security forces."

Government security men murdered most of the 400 to 500 civilians a month killed from January to June, Salvadoran rights organizations said, only half as many as last year. "A slow downward trend," Assistant Secretary of State Thomas O. Enders called it. Land reform went through a dicey period after the March 28 elections when the new rightist coalition tried to reverse the process. Pressure from Washington has turned things at least partly around, but 140,000 peasants are still waiting for land titles.

William J. Casey, the director of Central Intelligence, confirmed reports that the C.I.A. had done its bit in the elections. But he insisted the assistance was limited and benign, such as supplying invisible ink to stamp voters' wrists, and sensors to alert troops to guerrillas who opposed the voting.

The Senate last week added a further requirement for the next report — certification that Salvadoran authorities are making progress on bringing to justice the killers of four American churchwomen and two labor advisers in 1980 and 1981.

Border Warfare

United States military analysts last week said fighting had intensified along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border and Nicaragua vehemently agreed. In a letter to the United Nations Security Council, it charged that "dangerous incidents provoked directly or indirectly by the United States" threatened to touch off "widespread conflagration in Central America." Two planes, the letter added, attempted to attack Nicaragua's only oil refinery last week and 25 Nicaraguan soldiers and 75 "counter-revolutionaries" were killed in a skirmish 10 days ago.

United States officials denied Washington was involved and said it was not clear who's doing what to whom. Wealthy Nicaraguan exiles, they suggested, may be financing raids by former National Guardsmen who fled Nicaragua after the Sandinist takeover. Hundreds of former guardsmen were reported training last year in the United States. Two American Air Force C-130 transports have been moving Honduran troops since mid-July, but that was a long-scheduled exercise, Washington officials said.

Souvenir for Mrs. Gandhi

Bearing out Lord Palmerston's remark that nations do not have permanent friends, they have permanent interests, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Reagan last week put aside ideological differences to concentrate, Mr. Reagan said, on "all that we have in common."

In one of the few substantive developments of Mrs. Gandhi's good-will

visit, the two countries found a way around United States refusal to supply nuclear fuel to India, a contentious issue since India tested a nuclear bomb in 1974. Washington arranged for New Delhi to buy enriched uranium from France for the American-built power reactor that supplies Bombay. International inspectors will continue to oversee it, but India will not be held to Congressional requirements that all nuclear installations, notably the nearby reprocessing plant, be inspected to prevent weapons production.

Representative Edward J. Markey, Democrat of Massachusetts, deplored the "back door" arrangement. "India gets the uranium and U.S. nonproliferation policy gets the shaft," he insisted.

Arms is another issue dividing the two countries. The Soviet Union has become India's main weapons supplier, while the United States, reacting to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, is supplying \$3 billion in weapons to Pakistan, India's enemy in three wars. But India recently has moved to diversify her sources, discussing purchases of advanced jet fighters with French and United States companies and, it was disclosed last week, talking of a billion-dollar deal for American arms.

Well aware that Mrs. Gandhi has declined, in public at least, to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Mr. Reagan said goals they share include "the early end of the occupation of Afghanistan." Later, Mrs. Gandhi said, "We are against the presence of foreign troops, any foreign interference" in Afghanistan.

Grudging Aid For Somalia

Until the latest flareup in fighting in the Horn of Africa, the United States seemed to be tiptoeing away from its support of Somalia and the faltering regime of President Mohammed Siad Barre. But last week Washington heeded Somalia's repeated pleas and airlifted arms to help ward off an Ethiopian attack masquerading as an insurgent uprising.

The decision prompted ranking members of the House subcommittee on Africa to urge Secretary of State George P. Shultz to pursue diplomatic, rather than military, solutions to Africa's longest-running war.

Washington had all but cut off arms shipments, part of a \$20 million accord that gave the United States access to Somali military bases, to discourage President Barre's forays into the Ogaden region, which Ethiopia successfully defended in 1977-78. According to some diplomats, the United States has been looking for ways to wean Ethiopia's leader, Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, away from the Russians and their munitions. But the Reagan Administration has also pursued a policy of aiding pro-Western governments to counter Soviet influence.

Somalia would be hard pressed to turn back an all-out invasion by the powerful Ethiopian Army. Western diplomatic sources say, however, Ethiopia's aim is not to overrun its neighbor, but to topple Mr. Barre's Government, which recently imprisoned thousands in a crackdown on domestic unrest.

Bold Strike In Zimbabwe

Enemies of the two-and-a-half-year-old Government of Zimbabwe took daring and desperate steps last week, and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe vowed swift revenge.

Explosives knocked out a sizable segment of the national air force, including four new jets. Supporters of former Cabinet member Joshua Nkomo — Mr. Mugabe's archrival — came under suspicion amid reports that five white and 34 black present and former members of the air force were detained.

And despite pleas from Mr. Nkomo, a band of his renegade supporters continued to hold foreign tourists as hostages; at least three were reportedly killed.

Militarist Frederick Robert and Carlyle C. Douglas

Politicians, the Army and the U.S. All Have a Share

Who's Running Salvador? That's a Good Question

By RAYMOND BONNER

SAN SALVADOR — A United States Congressional delegation recently left El Salvador with an uneasy feeling. Representative Mickey Edwards, Republican of Oklahoma, said after meeting with provisional President Alvaro Magaña that he had the "very strong impression" that the real power in El Salvador lay with either the Constituent Assembly President, Roberto d'Aubuisson, or Defense Minister Gen. José Guillermo García. "After meeting with d'Aubuisson, I had the strong feeling that the real power is García," Mr. Edwards said. "And after meeting with García, I had the strong feeling that maybe nobody's in charge."

Last week, after the Administration certified that El Salvador was making progress on human rights and land reform, Mr. Edwards objected that he had found "none or very little."

If Mr. Edwards couldn't determine who was in charge during his visit, he seemed accurate in guessing that Mr. Magaña was not. When the President wanted to limit the suspension of part of the country's land redistribution program to lands on which cotton and sugar cane are grown, the Assembly ignored him. When Honduran troops entered territory claimed by El Salvador in June, President Magaña, who is commander in chief, said he had no knowledge of the incident.

Some observers see checks and balances at work between the presidency, the army and the Assembly. But others feel the country is solidly controlled by the army and the United States.

"Ambassador Hinton is president and García is vice president," a Salvadoran historian said recently, reflecting a view held by many groups across the political spectrum of American envoy Deane R. Hinton.

Having the army run their country is nothing new for Salvadorans. For nearly half a century, a colonel or general has worn the presidential sash, usually in alliance with the propertied class.

That alliance was severed in 1979 when a group

of moderate military officers staged a coup and began planning to restructure the country's economy. Hundreds of wealthy Salvadorans fled to Miami, and the United States became the army's new partner in power.

After the rightist parties collectively emerged victorious in the March elections, they sought to form a government that would exclude the Christian Democrats, resisting American pressure to give the Christian Democrats a share of power. But eventually General García, fearing the loss of American military aid, gathered political leaders and gave them three names from which they could select the president. The army's choice, the moderate Mr. Magaña, got the job and appointed a Christian Democrat as one of three vice presidents.

Certification Rules

A battle over the country's land distribution program soon followed. The Assembly suspended for one crop year Decree 207, which gave peasants the right to buy the tiny plots they were working as tenants or sharecroppers. The military had no strong commitment to Decree 207, according to an independent audit of the land reform program prepared for the United States Agency for International Development last December.

However, when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reacted to the suspension by voting unanimously to cut \$100 million in aid, the army rushed into action. In ceremonies at military bases throughout the country, Mr. Magaña, flanked by military commanders, issued provisional land titles.

But the desires of the Salvadoran Army and the Reagan Administration do not always coincide, and when they have not, the army has generally emerged the winner. As a condition of continued

military aid to El Salvador, Congress required President Reagan to certify that the Salvadoran Government was making a "concerted and significant effort to comply with internationally recognized human rights" and that it was achieving enough control over its own armed forces, "so as to bring to an end the indiscriminate torture and murder of Salvadoran citizens by those forces."

The President issued that certification last week, even though the Government had not restructured the security forces as the State Department had urged. Under the department's plan, the National Guard and Treasury Police were to be abolished as independent units and merged with the army. Human rights advocates and American diplomats have blamed these forces for many civilian deaths.

But Salvadoran officials say there are no plans to change the current arrangement, and tinkering with the two security forces would be politically difficult. The possibility seems faint that the director of the National Guard, Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova, would willingly diminish his power; as one of only three Salvadoran generals, he is considered one of the most influential men in the country.

Prospects for abolishing the Treasury Police appear equally dim. The head of that organization has possession of all Salvadoran income tax returns and access to information on the private lives of political and military leaders, according to well-informed sources.

No Real Change at the Top

Nor do military leaders seem any more willing to bring the civil war to a negotiated end, a route favored by Salvadoran labor and peasant leaders and many civilian politicians. Defense Minister García has repeatedly and emphatically rejected negotiations with the insurgents.

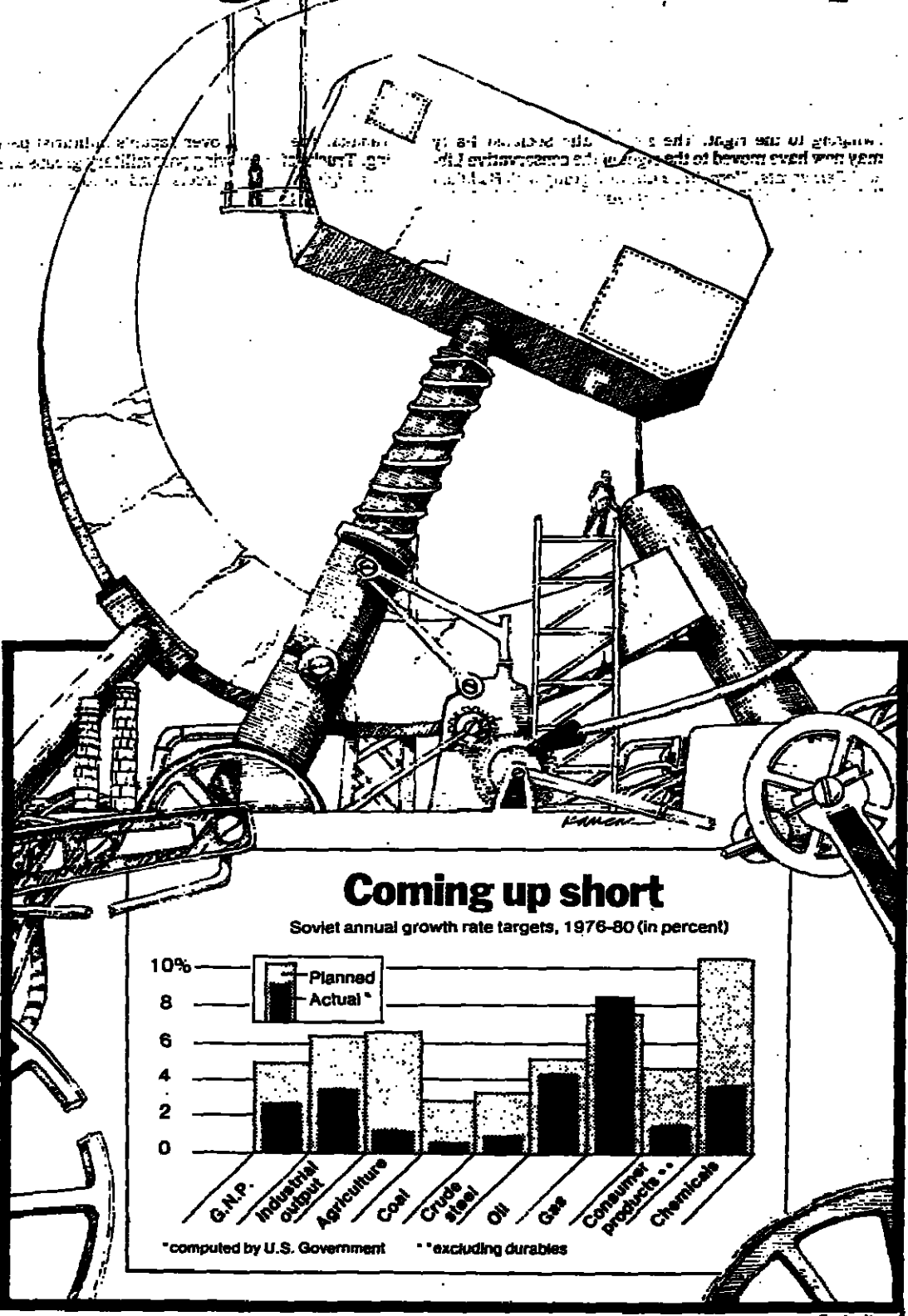
Since the 1979 coup, this tiny country has had several juntas, two presidents and dozens of Cabinet officers. But the same senior military commanders have continued to head the country's security forces. And despite several attempts by the civilian leaders to oust him, General García remains as Minister of Defense, and, in the view of many, the country's strongman.



United Press International
Gen. José Guillermo García.

Reagan Strategy Seeks to Force Political Change, but That's Not Likely

Putting the Economic Squeeze on Soviet



By ANTHONY LEWIS

MOSCOW — Industrial growth slowing, agriculture in a mess, the country increasingly reliant on imports: They would be danger signals for any economy. In the Soviet Union the signals of economic trouble are so strong and persistent that they raise the question of political consequences.

That there are serious economic strains is not in doubt. The 4 percent annual growth rate of the 1970's has fallen to perhaps half that. Food is an acute problem. Three disastrous grain harvests in a row have forced huge purchases abroad. A confidential report for Soviet leaders, about which Western reporters learned in May, said food imports cost \$700 million in 1970 and 10 times that, \$7.2 billion, in 1980. The report said a fifth of the grain crop and a third of the potatoes were lost because of bad harvesting, distribution and storage.

The Reagan Administration, reading the signs, argues that the Soviet Union is vulnerable now to economic pressure. Hence the American policy of

sanctions against the European gas pipeline from Siberia, designed to force a change of Soviet policy in Poland. (The Administration justifies large grain sales to the Soviet Union — a policy renewed last week — by arguing that they transfer no technology and cost the Soviets scarce hard currency, an explanation that Europeans regard as a cynical cover for the political necessity of the farm vote.) The economic argument figures also in some analyses of the prospects for arms control agreements; it is said that pressure on Soviet policy-makers to invest more in food and consumer goods and less in weapons will move them toward agreements. President Reagan himself has gone further, suggesting that economic failure and growing demands for political freedom will lead to collapse of the whole Soviet system.

How does the question of economic trouble and political consequences look in Moscow? It depends, naturally, on whose view it is. What follows is a sampling of three very different viewpoints: that of Soviet officials, of Western diplomats and of a dissenter inside the whale, Roy A. Medvedev.

Soviet officials are relatively open in conceding that the country has food problems. But they scoff at the notion that any popular revolt or basic change in the system will result.

"Everyone here over 30 knows about real hunger," said Georgi Arbatov, director of the Soviet Institute for United States and Canadian Studies and a member of the Communist Party Central Committee. "With all the difficulties of weather and so on, we grow much more grain than we need to feed our people; the problem is mainly feeding livestock."

Aleksandr Bovin, a former aide to President Brezhnev, is now a leading commentator on television and in *Izvestia*. His field is foreign affairs, but he gave what he called a personal view on the food problem.

"We don't need dramatic initiatives," he said. "You have to remember that private property has existed since the beginning of mankind, 6,000 years ago, and over all those years it developed effective mechanisms (for agriculture). We broke all that in our revolution, but we have had only 60 years to develop new mechanisms. We'll try to find the best solution within the framework of collective property. Sometimes it's hard to introduce the collective principle. There is prejudice."

Western diplomats said the food situation was bad outside Moscow, with rationing in some parts of Siberia. But none saw a possibility of serious protest. "Food shortages are not new here," one said. "And this is a very stable society."

Similarly, diplomats doubted that economic pressure would affect basic political positions, such as that on arms control. They said it was an essential political understanding from the time Leonid Brezhnev took over the leadership that the military would have a steadily increasing budget, and that premise was not likely to change at a time of seeming transition to a new leader.

On the other hand, the diplomats did not foresee any solution to the economic troubles. A special Central Committee meeting in May on agriculture, they said, had produced nothing but inconsistent bureaucratic jiggling.

Roy Medvedev is a unique figure today. At a time when all other well-known dissidents have been jailed, gone abroad or, in the case of Andrei Sakharov, sent into internal exile, he works on in a tiny apartment, a fifth-floor walk-up on the outskirts of Moscow. He is a historian who calls himself a Marxist.

"We've reached the stage in this country where whatever is said from Moscow is simply disregarded," Mr. Medvedev said. "In agriculture the problem is that it is in no one's interest at any level to work well; if you over-fulfill your plan, it's just taken away from you without compensation. Outside agriculture, no enterprise is ever declared bankrupt. They just roll on."

"There is no solution except to bring in elements of the market. People have to have some reason to work."

But what leader would have the ability or political will to do that? he was asked. After all, any fundamental reform would challenge the position of the elite.

"It's hard to envisage it coming soon," he said, "because the post-Brezhnev political figures are of a similar generation. But sooner or later, after further decay, there will be no alternative: not a revolution — no one wants that — but real change."

"By the late 1980's people will come to power — those now 45 to 50 — who will understand much more. They will improve administration. But the real changes will come in the 21st century, from those now 25 to 30."

Why would the younger generation be so different, he was asked, when it was educated in the same institutions?

"The institutions may be the same," Mr. Medvedev said, "but the atmosphere is very different. The new generation has really grown up outside the party. They go to party meetings, but they just don't bear what is said. They call themselves Leninist, but they are totally different."

How to Play a Historic Role in Namibia While Hanging On for Dear Life

Angola's Importance Outstrips Its Strength

By ALAN COWELL

LUANDA, Angola — A Briton who lives here and who supports Angola's revolution decided the other day to harangue visiting Westerners of less radical hue over their approach to this country and its problems. Did they not realize, the Briton asked, that while Westerners invariably focused on the revolution's manifold shortcomings, they were missing the real significance of Angola as a historic player in the unfolding drama of southern Africa's struggle for freedom? The viewpoint did not elicit an immediate consensus, but it did bring into focus some conflicting perceptions of Angola and the paradoxes between the country's current diplomatic importance and its many internal contradictions.

Last month, two leading figures in the Angolan hierarchy were disciplined, and reaction to the development illustrated the ambiguities. Manuel Pedro Pacavira, who was in charge of the "productive sector," reportedly lost his job. Andrew Mendes de Carvalho, the Health Minister, was reprimanded for showing disrespect to the President. Western diplomats interpreted the action as a power play designed to weaken the ruling party's so-called "black power" faction, and thus to strengthen the hand of pro-Soviet ideologues, many of whom are of mixed race. However, most of those who support the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola — Workers' Party saw the disciplinary moves as an effort by President José Eduardo dos Santos to tighten the party's efficiency and regain popular support.

In contrast to such minutiae, Angola has suffered from the strains of expedient decolonization by its former Portuguese rulers, and from a vulnerability to outside forces that contributes to the danger of economic collapse. The country has also played an African Lebanon to South Africa's Israel: It has become home to an armed group of foreigners who seek a return to a homeland, Namibia, on its southern border, that is occupied by strangers. In the process, the exiles, from the insurgent South-West Africa People's Organization invite their host's destabilization at the hands of a militarily superior force intent on crushing them. Last week, South Africa said a cease-fire in the Namibia war had been tentatively set for Aug. 15 and that a seven-month independence process would begin a month later.

From the perspective of the Briton who lives there, all this forms part of the grand tapestry of Angola's history. But, in the finer stitching of the nation's fabric, the country provides a graphic example of problems which reflect self-defeating economic policy. Most of the food is imported and sold at subsidized official prices. This does not provide an incentive for cultivators and traders, who have enshrined their reverence for capitalist price mechanisms in a flourishing black market.

The genesis of the economy's state of collapse lies in the hostilities following independence involving many outsiders: South Africa, Zaire, the C.I.A. and Cuban soldiers, who enabled Angola's present rulers to maintain a hold on power. Today the Cubans protect a regime that has no popular mandate and whose writ does not stretch across the nation. There has been continuous destabilization by

South Africa, with its attacks on insurgent bases on Angolan soil and its support for the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

Washington asserts that there is a "parallelism" between South Africa's military presence in Namibia and the Cuban presence in Angola. Thus, since peace in Namibia would require a South African withdrawal, the argument is that a Cuban pullout from Angola should proceed in some kind of tandem. The Angolans resent this conditionality, but their argument produces a similar result: Once the South Africans cease their "aggression," the Angolans say, there will no longer be a need for the costly Cuban presence. [In a speech last week, Cuban President Fidel Castro said his soldiers would not leave Angola until "all South African troops are removed" from South-West Africa, and warned that they would "combat seriously" any troops approaching their lines.]

Luanda would blame a collapse of the effort toward a Namibian settlement on South Africa, for it badly wants an agreement. It is here that the country's internal uncertainties come into play.

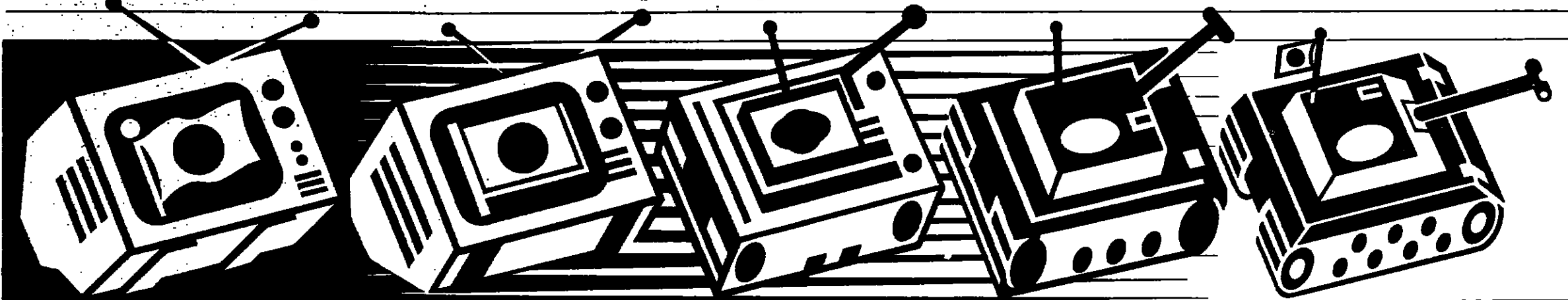
Unlike the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, the insurgent presence in Angola has not left the central Government impotent. Those black-ruled nations in southern Africa playing host to insurgent groups perform a dual role of protector and pressure point. Thus, it is the Western assessment that Angolan authorities will coax the South-West Africa People's Organization toward a settlement in Namibia that will take pressure off the regime exerted by the National Union led by Jonas Savimbi. Some people in Washington regard him as a kind of standard-



bearer for the West — an image that does not seem substantiated by his guerrillas' recent abduction of a Red Cross nurse from Swaziland and more than 30 missionaries. Although the National Union lost the civil war, South Africa's continued backing for its guerrilla activities has prevented regeneration in Angola's agricultural heartland along the Benguela railway.

The fact that the National Union has continued its struggle for seven years since independence suggests that it must have some popular support — an idea rejected by the Luanda authorities. Should those activities, whether sponsored by Pretoria or not, continue, Western diplomats here said, it is unlikely that the Cubans will withdraw — providing South Africa with a pretext to balk at a settlement in Namibia that would bring black Africa's campaign against apartheid to its doorstep.

Adoption of a \$64 Billion Weapons Program Reflects a National Shift to the Right



Japan Gets Serious About Defense Spending

By HENRY SCOTT STOKES

TOKYO — Helmeted troops in khaki uniforms — disaster relief forces — searched for bodies in the mud-soaked debris around Nagasaki last weekend after torrential rains and mudslides caused at least 280 deaths. It was a familiar role for the soldiers. Under the pacifist 1947 Constitution, a main function of Japan's 230,000 lightly armed "self-defense forces" is helping out in disasters.

Defense is largely a United States responsibility under a 1960 treaty that permits the stationing of 45,000 American soldiers in Japan. For years, however, and especially since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Pentagon has pressured Tokyo to assume more of the defense burden. Washington's efforts bore fruit last month when Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki adopted a five-year \$64 billion weapons program, the largest since World War II. Hirokazu Arai of the Defense Agency said it included \$17.4 billion for new weapons, notably F-15 jets that will make up the most modern fighter force in Asia, and one of the world's largest fleets of antisubmarine planes.

There were other signs that Japan, under American pressure, was changing priorities. Defense spending will rise 7.3 percent in the fiscal year beginning next April. Mr. Arai said 40 percent of the overall increase in Govern-

ment spending next year would go to the military. It was a victory for the right wing of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and for budding arms-makers — Fujitsu, Hitachi and Nippon Electric — which have had little defense business.

The right-wingers have favored rearmament throughout the Liberal Democrats' 27 years in power. But the party's mainstream, where Mr. Suzuki operates, always gave precedence to public works, welfare and education. The shift began after opposition parties started swinging to the right. The Democratic Socialist Party may now have moved to the right of the conservative Liberal Democrats; Komeito, a militant group with Buddhist links, has also shifted rightward. And faced with declining influence, the Socialist Party, the biggest opposition group, has softened its Marxist line, severed ties with the Communists and formed an electoral alliance with Komeito. Only the small Communist Party stoutly opposes rearmament, and even its chairman, Kenji Miyamoto, recently came out for a "self-defense" buildup, to take place, he said, after cutting security ties with the United States.

The minority parties are important despite the Liberal Democrats' absolute majority in Parliament. Japan's consensus politics rejects "the tyranny of the majority." Without support, if only implicit, from opposition

groups, the ruling party hesitates to move on anything as crucial as defense. Mr. Suzuki had to be able to say, in effect, "The nation demands that we act; we are constrained to move." Passive leadership, so different from vigorous, Washington-style executive politics, works better in Japan than beating the drums for action.

Japan's drift to the right has been reflected in changing attitudes of opposition leaders, many of whom are said to accept political funds (some say bribes) from ruling party figures such as former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. The trauma over Japan's militarist past is fading. Trucks of right-wing paramilitary groups are a common sight on Tokyo streets. And on Aug. 15, Mr. Suzuki will be accompanied by most of the Cabinet in a tribute to war dead at the Yasukuni shrine.

Socialist Party Falters

Ryosaku Sasaki, the Democratic Socialist leader, said in an interview that his model is the West German Social Democratic Party, which opted for German rearmament in 1959 and ultimately ousted the ruling Christian Democrats. The same year, Mr. Sasaki and other moderate socialists split away from Japan's powerful Socialist Party. But it took them decades to articulate a platform similar to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's. "We absolutely favor German Social Democratic attitudes," Mr. Sasaki

said. "Neutralism, pacifism, a burying of the head in the sand — all these are anathema." Komeito followed suit in a wide-ranging defense debate after the 1979 Afghanistan invasion. Originally pacifist, Komeito had scored spectacular successes as the offshoot in 1964 of Soka Gakkai, a religious group claiming support of 10 million families. It began as a lower middle-class party, wary of socialism and hostile to Liberal Democratic corruption. But lately Komeito has appeared to be a vehicle for nationalist aspirations, increasingly friendly to the Liberal Democrats and the powerful Mr. Tanaka.

The clincher for Mr. Suzuki, as he propels Japan toward rearmament, may be the parlous state of the Socialist Party. Under the leadership of Ichio Asukata, a former mayor of Yokohama, the Socialists have run short of funds and lost influence despite backing from the four-million-member Sohyo, Japan's largest labor federation. Mr. Asukata has failed to unite his faction-ridden party and since their alliance with Komeito, Socialists have seemed almost subordinate to the smaller, rich Buddhist group, which is organized on quasi-military lines.

Mr. Suzuki's five-year defense plan came under fire in some leading newspapers. "The Government cannot escape the criticism that it has leaped on a right-wing tide," Mainichi said. Added Asahi, "We can understand the circumstances which lead the U.S. to want to sell its weapons to Japan. But could it be that this pressure on Japan will result in sharpening a sword which may someday be turned on the U.S.?" But opposition parties took up the charges with little enthusiasm. Their weakness has opened the way for Japanese rearmament.

Views

A portfolio from around the nation

Steve Benson
The Arizona Republic
The Washington Post Writers Group



Jim Morin
The Miami Herald



Chan Lowe
Oklahoma City Times



Bob Englehart
The Hartford Courant
The Los Angeles Times Syndicate

BROADWAY 80

i'm glad I changed...

The Nation

In Summary

Reagan Keeps Checkbook Open For the Military

"Cap wants everything he can get his hands on," an aide of Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger remarked last week. "And he has in his corner a man who agrees with him." While he might not have given Mr. Weinberger a blank check, President Reagan came close. He announced that he wasn't bound by the ceilings on military outlays that he and Congress had agreed to for fiscal years 1984 and 1985. He could live within the spending targets for the budget as a whole, the President declared at a press conference, but he wanted "flexibility with regard to individual programs" — that is, defense. The Administration's midyear economic review, released Friday, called for the addition of some \$10 billion to the Pentagon's 1984 budget and more than \$15 billion for 1985. Officials said Mr. Reagan would ask Congress to make up the difference by cutting deeper into domestic programs.

The President's decision was reportedly opposed by political advisers concerned about, among other things, appearances. It just wouldn't look good, they are said to have argued, for the Commander in Chief to seek still more bucks for the bang while Capitol Hill was cutting deeper into domestic spending — and as an increasing number of Republican Congressmen were worrying about holding on to their jobs come Election Day. Indeed, the Senate and House Republican leaders, Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. and Representative Robert H. Michel, said they would try to change the President's mind. Pete V. Domenici, who heads the Senate Budget Committee, said that in-

creases in military spending would be "unreasonable and unjustified."

Meanwhile, the House, completing action on a \$175.3 billion military spending authorization bill for fiscal 1983, handed the Administration at least a temporary setback. The House voted to forbid the spending of any money in the bill for weapons or research "inconsistent" with existing arms limitation agreements.

The White House will have another shot at that prohibition, along with other provisions not to the Administration's liking, when the House and Senate, which approved a \$177.9 billion bill in May, meet to resolve their differences. The House earlier this month voted to continue a moratorium on the production of chemical weapons; the Senate bill contains no such restriction. However, the House has narrowly given the MX missile a go-ahead; the Senate has withheld funds until a basing mode is decided on. In another vote, the House approved and sent to the Senate a \$13.8 billion supplemental appropriations bill for 1982 that provided \$2.1 billion less for military programs than the Administration wanted.

Court Nudged On Abortions

Though no Federal statutes are involved in the abortion-law appeals pending before the United States Supreme Court, the Justice Department made good on Attorney General William French Smith's promise to encourage "judicial restraint" in cases involving social issues.

In a move that delighted antiabortion groups and others who regard Federal judges as overly meddling, it weighed in with an unusual "friend of the court brief." Govern-

ment lawyers asked the Court to "give heavy deference" to state and local abortion restrictions. The 22-page brief came close but didn't quite ask for the Court to overturn its 1973 decision that said women have a constitutional right to abortions. "Vesting the courts with broad authority to second-guess legislative judgments is inherently antidemocratic," the brief said.

The Court agreed earlier this year to review lower court rulings striking down abortion restrictions enacted by legislatures in Missouri and Virginia and by the city of Akron. One disputed restriction requires an unmarried girl who is under 15 years of age to obtain the permission of a parent or a judge before obtaining an abortion. Another says a doctor can't perform a requested abortion for at least 24 hours after his patient has signed a consent form.

More Haitians Win Release

While the trickle of Haitians from detention camps hasn't become a deluge, the release last week of more refugees seemed to mean there would at least be a steady flow.

The parole of some 60 Haitians from the Krome Avenue Detention Center in Miami brought to nearly 100 the number released thus far under a Federal court order. A group of 17 left July 23, almost a month after a Federal judge ordered the release of 1,807 Haitians being held at sites in New York, Kentucky, Texas, West Virginia and Puerto Rico.

Under an agreement between the Government and voluntary assistance agencies, only Haitians with sponsors in the community will be released; after 30 days they will return to court for hearings to determine whether they will be allowed to stay. The sponsors are required to make weekly reports on the refugees' whereabouts and guarantee attendance at immigration hearings.

Despite the favorable decision on paroles, some agencies are concerned that wholesale releases may hurt rather than help Haitians not prepared for community life. "This is one reason why my agency doesn't want to release anyone until [the Federal Office of Refugee Resettlement] agrees to what money we'll get," said Tom Wiley of World Relief.



Haitian refugee greeting well-wisher after being released from a Federal detention camp in Miami last week.

"I don't believe they should be moved out until they are ready."

Malone: From 2 Hats to None?

Four weeks after he torpedoed the Law of the Sea treaty, at least as far as the United States was concerned, President Reagan decided last week to deep-six his nomination of James

L. Malone as Ambassador at Large for law of the sea matters.

Mr. Malone, Assistant Secretary of State for nuclear nonproliferation policy, has for the past year also been chief of the United States delegation to the sea-law talks, which produced a treaty signed by more than 100 nations but not by Washington, because of curbs on seabed mining. A draft report prepared by the State Department's Office of the Inspector General criticized Mr. Malone's "bizarre

personnel management" and "uncertain leadership" during the talks.

But what appeared to seal his fate were conflict of interest allegations arising from his efforts to persuade the Export-Import Bank to lend \$850 million to the Taiwan Power Company, a utility he once represented as a lobbyist. Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee contended the action violated written assurances given last year, during Mr. Malone's confirmation hearings as Assistant Secretary, that he would not be involved with former clients.

Mr. Malone's other position also is in jeopardy. Senate critics, who have labeled his efforts to halt the spread of nuclear arms as "inconsistent and ineffective," have apparently found a sympathetic listener in Secretary of State George P. Shultz. While the State Department officially insists Mr. Malone will stay on, Senate leaders say Mr. Shultz has assured them he will soon be replaced.

Unsheathing An Old Weapon

Civil rights leaders met in Gary, Ind., last week to pursue new strategies for regaining momentum. They ended up agreeing on the importance of an old one — the boycott.

A decade after a similar gathering concluded that politics held the key to advancement, the 700 public officials, entertainers, economists and business owners attending the five-day Summit Conference on Black Economic Development and Survival switched their focus to the economy. The \$150 billion a year blacks spend or control, they were told, could provide ample leverage if distributed with minority needs in mind.

Boycotts, perhaps the most effective civil rights weapon in the 1960's, were curtailed after a state court ordered the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to pay \$1.25 million to businesses around Port Gibson, Miss. Last month, the United States Supreme Court reversed that ruling, clearing the way for such actions to resume. The leaders also discussed the importance of supporting black-owned businesses and creating banks for minority development.

Michael Wright and Caroline Rand Herron

Unfavorable Prospects Will Persist Even After the Current Recession

By JOHN HERBERS

WASHINGTON — New evidence is piling up that for the foreseeable future the states will not pick up the domestic program obligations slashed by the Federal Government.

A survey released last week by the National Conference of State Legislatures said a majority of the states are beset by "perhaps the worst fiscal conditions in 40 years." Last month, one of the President's conservative supporters gave an appraisal more in keeping with new realities at a conference on taxation, held in the New Hampshire mountains. "The 'new federalism' is a catch phrase for retrenchment," said Donald Cassidy, a Republican who led the successful drive to limit property taxes in Massachusetts. "State and local governments are not going to pick up the slack." Those who believe in Federal intervention could not agree more.

But whether one wants the services to continue or falter is beside the point at this stage. Many states are down and out. Their fiscal condition, despite cuts in services and some new taxes, has continued to worsen as the recession has stretched on, and officials say there are deeper reasons why the states are not likely to rebuild their own models of the national welfare state that is being slowly dismantled by the Reagan Administration.

Whatever the President's intentions, conditions have changed drastically since scholars, governors and others suggested in the mid-1970's that the Federal Government was overburdened, that many of its programs were wasteful and subject to fraud, that people did not know which level of government to hold responsible for which

For the States, It's a Terrible Time for Costly New Burdens

services and that state governments had improved enough since the 1960's, when they were known as the weakest link in the Federal system, to reclaim some functions pre-empted by Washington. The states were then expanding, piling up large surpluses and enacting reforms in a range of areas.

But they have since become so weakened that some analysts say the President could not have picked a worse time to seek to give the states broad new responsibilities.

Revenue loss. State taxes are so closely tied to people's spending, largely through sales taxes, that the deepest recession since the depression of the 1930's has hit them particularly hard. Reduced Federal funds have added another increment of loss. Legislative sessions of most states were dominated this year by personnel layoffs, cuts in services and increases in fees and taxes to preserve the most basic services. Four states — California, Ohio, Minnesota and Michigan — face a revenue shortfall that would demand more cuts or more taxes.

Unexpected burdens. At every turn, state governments have run into difficulties they did not anticipate. In some, income tax and corporate tax bases were eroded by the round of cuts and changes in Federal taxes last year.

Highways and other public facilities have fallen into disrepair as revenues were declining. Taxing gasoline by pennies a gallon did not keep revenues up with inflation and many states have not been able to fill the gap.

Assistance Falls Short

Aid to cities. During the 1970's many states began for the first time to extend substantial aid to cities and other distressed communities, which had turned to the Federal Government during the 1960's due to state neglect. A new study by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations shows that assistance now falls far short of need — "only a small number of the 50 states have made extensive use of or the full range of powers and tools at their disposal." And some of the states most willing to help are among those hit hardest by fiscal woes.

Uneven resources. The Advisory Commission, a Federally funded research agency, reported in another study that disparities among the states in their ability to provide a broad range of services are becoming greater. Alaska, for example, with its large supplies of energy and a low population, has three times the capacity to finance public services as Mississippi. In his proposal to turn back

a number of Federal programs to the states, President Reagan is promising to set up a trust fund that would equalize the disparities, but there is skepticism that his plan would actually do so and a belief that within a few years the states would be on their own. So great are the disparities, some officials say, that only a permanent system of equalizing grants by the Federal Government, which would be difficult to achieve politically, would preserve some degree of equity.

President Reagan's proposals for a formal turnover of authority to the states are considered likely to falter in Congress. But somewhat the same effect is being achieved by attrition in the Federal budget. "The 'new federalism,' which is austerity federalism, will be around for some time to come," John Shannon, assistant director of the commission, recently told the Joint Economic Committee of Congress. "There is reason to suspect that the Federal aid situation will continue to deteriorate for the next several years" because of pressures for higher defense spending, lower income taxes, a balanced Federal budget and greater Social Security costs.

The states have been so preoccupied with making ends meet that most have given little thought to picking up abandoned Federal responsibilities. Not that they are without strong points. They are much more flexible than Washington in a number of areas. For example, 10 states have enacted their own enterprise zone laws to entice business and industry to depressed neighborhoods.

But the experience of the last year or so — with the states suddenly finding themselves on the ropes at a time of great opportunity — suggests to some that they may not yet have the stability to carry the new responsibilities.

Torture-Death in an Idaho Jail Prompts Some Far-Reaching Second Thoughts

When 'Legal Inconsistency' Led to Tragedy

By WILLIAM E. SCHMIDT

BOISE, Idaho — Just over two months ago, 17-year-old Christopher Peterman was tortured and beaten to death in the juvenile detention cell at the Ada County Jail here. The youth had been jailed for failing to pay a \$73 fine for traffic tickets issued last fall. When police finally picked him up on an arrest warrant in May, he was facing a jail stay of 15 days. Under Idaho law, each \$5 of unpaid fine is worth one day of imprisonment.

Christopher survived less than 72 hours. According to investigators, four of the other five youths in the cell beat and kicked him and burned him with flaming pieces of toilet paper over a period of nearly 14 hours. All four will be tried this fall as adults, charged with first-degree murder.

In a community where there were only three murders all of last year, the Peterman case has cut deeply. Earlier this month, David Leroy, the Idaho Attorney General, a 34-year-old currently running for lieutenant governor, released a 23-page investigative report on what is believed to have gone on in the jail. He said the report was not meant to be a measure of the guilt or innocence of those charged with the murder; rather, it was intended to shed some light on how the system went awry.

A Shortage of Staff

Mr. Leroy's report cast much of the blame on the failure of jail personnel to detect the brutal beating before it was too late. In particular, Mr. Leroy said the jail staff failed to follow security procedures and was understaffed, due in part to budgetary constraints.

While the average daily inmate population is now 160, an increase of more than 37 percent since January 1979, the jail staff has actually decreased over the same period from 23 to 22 deputies. Among other things, Mr. Leroy recommended that jail officials make an emergency request of county commissioners to have additional deputies assigned to the jail.

The Attorney General's report also touched on what



Attorney General David Leroy

Christopher Peterman

Sheriff E. C. Palmer

many think is the even larger problem facing the state's criminal justice system. Under the provisions of the Idaho youth law, persons under 18 who are charged, like Christopher Peterman, with relatively minor traffic offenses, as well as those who are ticketed by police for illegally possessing tobacco or alcohol, are to be treated as adults. That is, if they fail to pay their fine, a judge can find them in contempt of court and issue a warrant for their arrest.

In Ada County, they are then liable to confinement not in a juvenile detention center, but rather in the six-bed juvenile section of the county jail. And here, as the Christopher Peterman affair tragically illustrates, they may

encounter potentially violent juveniles who have been charged with much more serious offenses.

The State Legislature agreed to toughen the youth laws last year, partly in response to pleas from police in Boise who said they needed more authority to crack down on juveniles who were smoking and drinking in city parks and on school grounds.

"By legislative action, we've held that certain acts are a crime only if they are committed by juveniles," Mr. Leroy said in a recent interview.

And then we're processing these same juveniles through the adult court system. The law that allowed this

was, I think, well-motivated, but it has created a logical inconsistency."

Until the Peterman case, few in Idaho gave much thought to such inconsistencies; let alone the potential risk in exposing young people charged with minor violations of the law to more hardened offenders. "The fact is that for a lot of people here, Idaho has been changing in recent years, and their kids were changing too," said a former Boise policeman. "If the threat of jail would help keep the kids in line, it was all right with them."

Idaho has always had a reputation as a rather conservative law-and-order state. A few weeks ago, for example, a 4-year-old boy in Arco, a small town 155 miles west of Boise, was brought before a magistrate on two counts of malicious destruction of property filed by the local police chief. The charges against the child, who was accused of throwing a rock through a neighbor's window, were dropped after his parents agreed to pay for the damage.

Alternatives to Jail

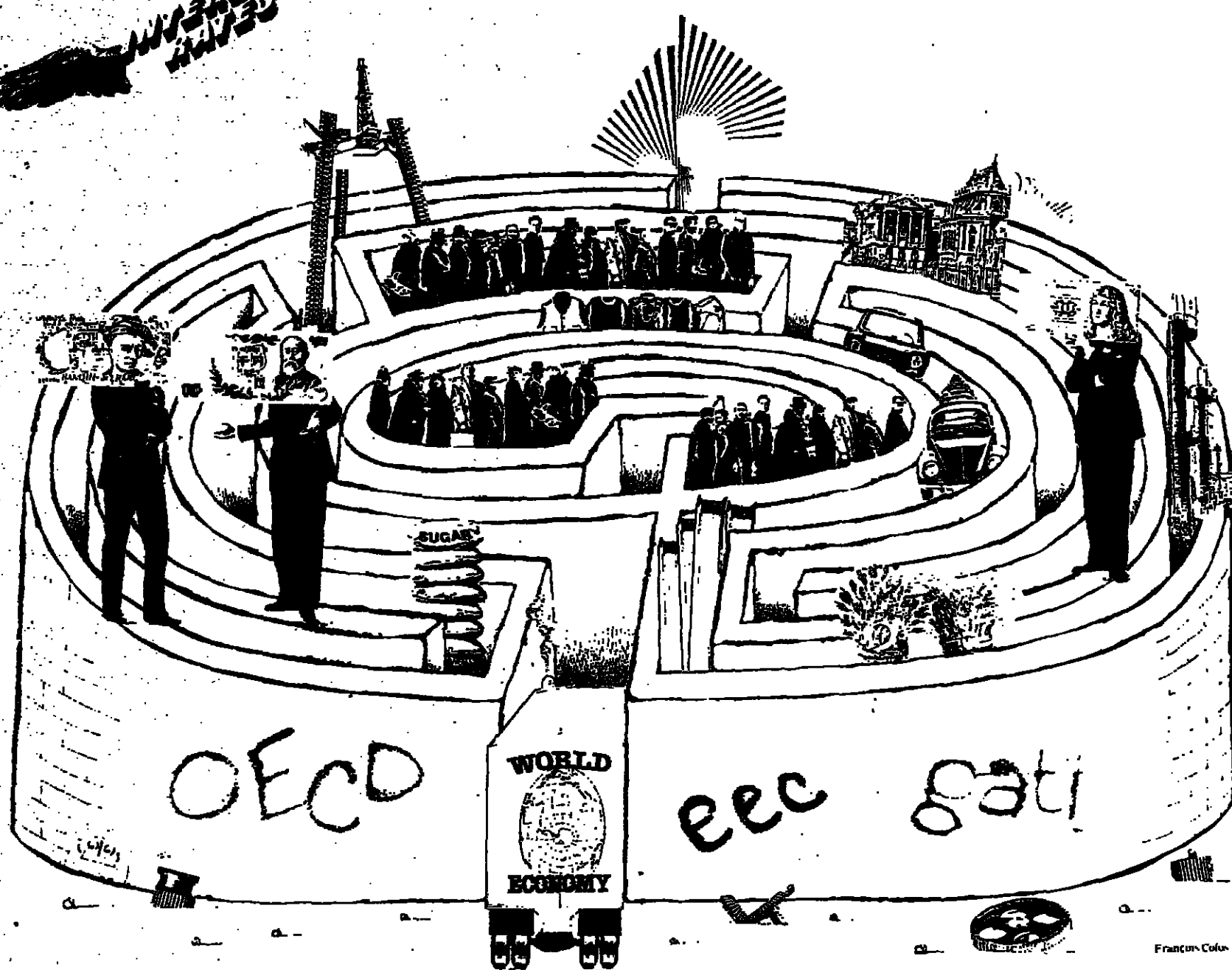
Now some people seem to be having second thoughts. For one thing, Mr. Leroy says there is a question whether Idaho will qualify this year for some \$225,000 in funds allocated by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention of the United States Justice Department, as part of a program designed to encourage the de-institutionalization of youthful offenders. Federal officials believe the number of juveniles arrested and detained in the state is higher than officials first reported, because those jailed on alcohol and tobacco offenses were not included in the census.

Meanwhile, the Idaho Youth Commission, which makes recommendations on juvenile justice policy, is drafting proposed changes in the existing state legislation. Among other things they are examining alternatives to sentencing youths to jail for failure to pay fines.

Still, it will take some time before the state untangles what Mr. Leroy described as the logical inconsistencies in its approach to juvenile justice. Last month, the attorney for Andy Anderson, one of the youths charged with killing Christopher Peterman, asked a state district court judge if his client could have permission to smoke cigarettes while in jail awaiting trial.

Though the Anderson youth could face the death penalty if convicted, the court denied the motion because Idaho state law still prohibits anyone under 18 from possessing or using tobacco products.

The Economy



A Perilous Time for World Trade

After Versailles the mood has darkened, amid new threats of protectionism.

By ROBERT D. HERSHEY Jr.

THE leaders of the troubled industrial nations who left the Versailles summit meeting in June, heralding their common purpose and proclaiming their good will are hissing at each other today like so many alley cats.

"The United States seems totally indifferent to our problems," charges French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, defending his Government's decision to defy President Reagan and proceed with construction of the Soviet gas pipeline. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt endorsed the French action and sounded a similar note. Washington's handling of the pipeline, he said, has "cast a shadow over relations" between Europe and the United States, "damaging confidence as regards future agreements."

But it's not just the pipeline that has made a mockery of Versailles. Charges of unfair trade practices and threats of retaliation in a half-dozen industries are flying back and forth over the Atlantic — and the Pacific, too — in a worrisome crescendo. Businessmen, dismayed by the long siege of sluggish economic growth that has left some 30 million people in the West unemployed, are doing what comes naturally: pressuring politicians to restrain imports, subsidize exports, or both. Steelmakers in Bonn and Pittsburgh want help; so do auto makers in London and Detroit, textile, apparel and shoe manufacturers throughout the West and farmers virtually everywhere.

Democratic governments, the targets of such pressure, are worried about their own political fortunes and embarrassed by their failure to generate strong growth and lower unemployment. The temptation is strong to take the path of least resistance and tighten up trade — even for a Government as devoted to the free market as Ronald Reagan's. In the past 18 months, Washington,

beset by domestic producers, has raised new barriers against imports in autos, textiles and sugar. Steel is likely to be next. Nor is the United States alone. European countries, to varying degrees, have also sought to defend domestic markets or to promote exports through generous subsidies.

The result "is a massive collision of policies" all moving in a protectionist direction, says Harold B. Malmgren, a former Government trade negotiator who is now a Washington consultant. "Everybody is trying to protect jobs."

Arthur Dunkel, the Swiss director general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, takes an even dimmer view of events. "The rule of law in international trade may be at stake," he warns. The very consensus on which mutual prosperity has been built over the past 35 years "may also be at risk."

Most trade specialists do not see the world as darkly as Mr. Dunkel. Some hope that a GATT ministerial meeting scheduled for the fall will help ease mounting tensions in the West. The last such meeting of the world's intergovernmental trade regulatory body was held in 1973 and led eventually to the successful Tokyo Round of trade negotiations.

The upcoming meeting, to consider trade policy for the 1980's, is surely well timed. "It has been suggested often that world trade policy is at a crossroads" — but such a characterization of the early 1980's may be reasonably accurate, says C. Fred Bergsten, a former Treasury official in the Carter Administration, now director of a new Washington think tank, the Institute for International Economics.

The most urgent question before the leaders of the industrial world is whether they can change the fractious atmosphere of this summer before stronger protective measures are actually put in place. So far, Mr. Bergsten, says, words have outweighed deeds. The trade picture is dismal. World trade reached some \$2 trillion a year in 1980 and hasn't budged since. In the first half of this year, Mr. Bergsten suspects that trade probably fell as the world economy stayed flat. But, according to his studies, increased protectionism is not the culprit for the slowdown in trade — at least not yet. The culprit instead is slow growth and recession, and the resulting slump in demand for imports.

If this analysis is correct, it bodes well for a future day when the West manages to get economic growth

under way again. Once growth in the major countries of Europe and North America (members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) reaches a threshold of 1.5 percent a year, Mr. Bergsten's studies show, each percentage point rise in output is accompanied by a three percentage point rise in trade (measured by nonoil imports).

This prospect, however, is based on a historical relationship between growth and trade that might not hold up for the future, especially if major new restraints to trade are erected by fearful or angry governments. There are other concerns as well. Not only is a strong recovery uncertain, but the financial strains of the energy crisis and of the recent sluggish period of growth have taken a toll. Rapidly developing countries like Mexico and Brazil that were big importers just a few years ago are not likely to come roaring back with the same vigor and neither may trade.

Despite the problems besetting world trade today, most trade experts reject the notion that the discord may be prelude to a cataclysm like the one of the 1930's, a time of beggar-my-neighbor tariffs, quotas and exchange controls that combined with overly restrictive monetary policies to cause the Great Depression.

"There was a total freezing-up of the trading system then, but this time we're in for a sort of creeping paralysis at worst," says an economist with the International Monetary Fund who insisted on anonymity. Most analysts think the egregious policy errors of 50 years ago are well enough recognized to be avoided. One of these mistakes was the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, which raised average United States rates to a record 50 percent. "From an economic point of view, we've more than learned our lesson," commented Stephen D. Cohan, a consultant to Bache Halsey Stuart Shields, Inc.

But there are fresh problems today that could be severely damaging. Though tariffs and outright quotas are low after three rounds of intense international trade negotiations in the past two decades — new trade restraints, often bound up in voluntary agreements between countries to limit particular imports, have sprouted in recent years like mushrooms in a wet wood. Though the new protectionism is more subtle than the old-fashioned variety, it is no less damaging to economic efficiency and, ultimately, to prospects for world economic growth.

A striking feature is that the new protectionism has focused on the same limited sectors in most of the major

industrial countries — textiles, steel, electronics, footwear, shipbuilding and autos. Similarly, it has concentrated on supply from Japan and the newly industrialized countries.

When several countries try to protect the same industries, the dealings become difficult. Take steel. Since 1977, the European Economic Community has been following a plan to eliminate excess steel capacity, using bilateral import quotas along the way to soften the blow to the steelworkers. The United States, responding to similar pressure at home and to the same problem of a world oversupplied with steel, introduced a "voluntary" quota system in 1969, and, after a brief period of no restraint, developed a complex trigger price mechanism in 1978.

Still, steel producers today on both sides of the Atlantic are in a froth. United States producers have charged the Europeans with dumping and have initiated legal proceedings that could lead to sizable new duties on Common Market steel exports. This has the Europeans threatening to challenge the United States for its tax-subsidy program for exporters.

The person into whose lap such problems will fall is George P. Shultz, now installed as Secretary of State.

With the prominent exception of Cordell Hull, who served 11 years under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, there has never been a Secretary of State so seemingly qualified by training, temperament and interest to unravel the increasingly intertwined issues of trade and diplomacy. Mr. Shultz, a man with a Ph.D. in industrial economics and who has taught the subject, will not, like many of his predecessors, have to learn his economics on the run.

He is being counted upon to counter the drift toward protectionism. It was Mr. Shultz, after all, who as Treasury Secretary in the Nixon Administration was instrumental in beginning the Tokyo Round of tariff-cutting negotiations in 1973. According to William E. Simon, another former Treasury Secretary: "George is very fearful today of the whole protectionist trend that's going on."

Throughout the country, those who deal with trade issues are hailing the Shultz appointment. "Everyone was just ecstatic" about his selection, said Lawrence Krause of the Brookings Institution in describing the reaction of fellow trade experts at a recent gathering here. "It's obviously an outstanding appointment," commented Arnold F. Weber, a former colleague in Government who is now president of the University of Colorado. When he learned that Kenneth W. Dam, a Shultz protégé and specialist in trade law, had been named deputy secretary, Mr. Weber observed, "It's now too deep. Ken really knows the GATT mechanism in detail."

Although it is easy to find directly opposite views among economists on virtually every subject in their domain, there is near unanimity that the free international exchange of goods benefits everyone — except, temporarily, those who lose their jobs in the process.

The case, formulated two centuries ago by Adam Smith and refined later by David Ricardo, rests on the law of comparative advantage. Every country benefits when each concentrates on producing and exporting those goods it makes most efficiently while importing those that others produce most efficiently.

The only notable dissent from this view comes from a group of Cambridge University economists led by a former British Treasury official, Wynne Godley, that in recent years has argued that an inefficient Britain should shield itself behind high tariff barriers.

Mr. Shultz should be able handily to brush such protectionist arguments aside. But, the new Secretary of State is as much a pragmatist as a theorist. His years as chief executive of Bechtel, a multibillion-dollar contracting company, have brought him in close touch with the practical side of trade.

Though trade disputes over steel, agriculture, textiles and autos are somewhat familiar because of their long histories, many of the problems facing Mr. Shultz are not. The enormous upset over the Soviet pipeline is highly political and has more to do with the American attitude toward the Soviet Union than toward trade. But other matters that lie ahead are tough nuts so difficult to crack and so typical of trade. One question that will soon become a matter of wide debate, analysts say, is what to do about the vast increase in the flow of data across frontiers and the effort by some European countries to tax such information as it moves over national borders. This question raises issues not only of trade, but of "privacy and censorship," according to Walter B. Wriston, chairman of Citicorp.

Also looming is the fundamental, security-related problem of trading in high technology, which raises particular fears in Washington about loss of scientific leadership. "The single most important trade issue facing the United States is wrapped up in our competition in high technology," says Lionel H. Olmer, Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade. "It has a significance that takes on the character of national security."

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Another Tumble for Interest Rates

The discount rate charged on Federal Reserve loans to banks will be reduced to 11 percent from 11½ percent, effective tomorrow, the Federal Reserve Board announced. The decline followed a half point reduction July 20 and led analysts to forecast still lower rates in coming weeks. The Fed also announced that the nation's money supply fell \$800 million in the week ended July 21, following a decrease of \$200 million the previous week.

The recovery from the recession "is going to be slow," cautioned President Reagan, who asserted in a news conference that the economy was "in a kind of transition." A controversial midyear economic review issued by the Administration projected a budget deficit of \$115 billion for fiscal year 1983 and deficits of \$92.6 billion for fiscal years 1984 and \$73.6 billion for 1985.

The index of leading indicators, a prime economic indicator, remained unchanged in June, the Commerce Department reported, following increases in April and May.

The House voted to go to conference with the Senate on the Senate's three-year, \$89 billion revenue bill without first writing its own tax measure.

Companies that defy U.S. sanctions

A Disagreement on Budget Deficits

In sharp disagreement with lower Administration budget deficit estimates, Alice M. Rivlin (right), director of the Congressional Budget Office, predicted that the deficits would range from \$140 billion to \$180 billion over the next three fiscal years. Mrs. Rivlin told the Senate Banking Committee that a slower-than-expected economic recovery and other adverse factors could add \$25 billion to \$35 billion to the fiscal year 1983 deficit and increase those of following years. The latest Administration estimate of the 1983 deficit is about \$115 billion.



against the sale of equipment for the Soviet natural gas pipeline to Western Europe may be denied exports, the Reagan Administration said.

The Soviet grain agreement has been extended one year by President Reagan. It is expected to result in a record sale of 17.5 million metric tons.

The nation's trade deficit in June was raised by a moderate increase of

oil imports to \$3.44 billion, from \$3.29 billion in May, the Commerce Department reported.

Frictions over charges of dumping by European steel producers were eased temporarily by a Common Market decision to negotiate the issue with Washington.

U.S. Steel dropped 97.4 percent in its

second-quarter earnings, citing the "severe impact" of the recession.

Orders for machine tools rose 21 percent in June from May, but were still down 59.7 percent from June 1981, the National Machine Tool Builders Association reported.

The General Motors Corporation reported an increase in second-quarter profits of 8.7 percent, to \$560 million. Ford and Chrysler also reported profits for the period.

The worldwide oil oversupply helped push Mobil's second-quarter net down 55.7 percent. Gulf, Shell and Phillips also posted declines.

The move to lower prime rates to 15½ percent from 16 percent became general throughout the nation's banks in reflection of recent declines in money market rates.

Gulf's acquisition of Citic Service was blocked by the F.T.C. pending further study because of fears the merger could limit competition. A Federal District Court ordered Gulf to hold up merger proceedings to at least Aug. 8.

Brendan Jones

The New York Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED JULY 30, 1982				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
Exxon	2,934,300	26	+	1/4
WCA	2,825,600	9	+	1/4
Heubln	2,605,800	57 1/2	+13 3/4	
IBM	2,526,600	65 1/2	+	1/4
WmT	2,380,900	27 1/2	+	1/4
Xerox	2,261,300	29 1/2	+	1/4
Conti	2,255,400	18 1/2	+	1/4
Gmof	2,007,200	42 1/2	+	1/4
SouthCo	1,996,700	12 1/2	+	1/4
Schimb	1,930,000	35 1/2	+	3/4
ATT	1,880,000	52 1/2	+	1/4
WmCm	1,683,500	45	+	3/4
HughIT	1,481,900	17	+	1/4
RCA	1,449,300	17 1/2	+	1/4
HewlP	1,402,900	41 1/2	+	3/4
MARKET DIARY				
	Last Week	Prev. Week		
Advances	447	1,097		
Declines	1,433	727		
Total Issues	2,111	2,112		
New Highs	48	152		
New Lows	232	143		
VOLUME				
	Last Week	Year To Date		
Total Sales	232,269,440	7,529,548,173		
Same Per. 1981	200,413,000	7,030,548,000		
WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
	High	Low	Last Chng	
New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	72.19	69.57	69.79	-2.67
Transp	53.87	51.88	52.09	-1.90
Util	37.59	36.49	36.53	-1.27
Finance	62.84	60.78	60.92	-1.72
Composite	63.57	61.26	61.49	-2.08
Standard & Poor's				
	124.9	118.9	119.9	-5.05
400 Indust	124.9	118.9	119.9	-5.05
20 Transp	17.3	16.6	16.8	-0.47
40 Util	52.6	50.1	50.5	-2.09
40 Financial	12.3	11.8	11.8	-0.51
500 Stocks	111.5	106.2	107.0	+3.02
Dow Jones				
	833.2	801.4	808.6	-35.2
30 Indust	318.6	304.9	303.8	-21.3
20 Transp	107.0	102.2	101.9	-5.20
15 Util	320.4	307.4	306.5	-11.90
The American Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
(Consolidated)				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
Gmof	2,287,300	11	+	1/4
DomeP	2,060,800	13 1/2	+	1/4
CryatO	403,100	13 1/2	+	1/4
WangB	385,400	27 1/2	+	1/4
PatLow	333,000	7 1/2	+	1/4
ChmPh	329,100	3	+	1/4
TubMx	323,300	1 1/2	+	1/4
HouOT	247,700	11 1/2	+	1/4
AmdhI	233,800	20 1/2	+	1/4
RangR	208,200	4 1/2	+	1/4
MARKET DIARY				
	Last Week	Prev. Week		
Advances	196	412		
Declines	580	310		
Total Issues	902	902		
New Highs	30	44		
New Lows	93	74		
VOLUME				
	Last Week	Year To Date		
Total Sales	15,313,705	600,217,385		
Same Per. 1981	23,894,000	818,188,740		

The New York Times

Founded in 1851
ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1982

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher
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Constitutional Con

The President, once a baseball broadcaster, now sounds like Leo Durocher, the former Dodger manager. Durocher watched with mounting anger one day as his third baseman let one, two, three ground balls through his legs. When it happened again, Durocher went out to play third himself. The very next ball bounced through his legs. He slammed the mitt down and shouted to the offending fielder, "You've got this position so knotted up that no one can play it right."

Last week, it was the President who threw down his mitt. The subject was Federal deficits. They weren't of such concern in February when he proposed a \$98.6 billion deficit for 1983. Better that, he said, than to touch his planned tax cuts. They "must not be tampered with in a vain attempt to cure deficits in the short-run."

But Mr. Reagan is plenty worried about the deficit now. So is Congress. The deficit will be closer to \$160 billion than \$98 billion. Who's to blame? Don't look at me, Mr. Reagan says with some heat. Blame the Democrats. Why, they gave the country 19 deficits in the last 20 years. They got the game so knotted up that no one can play it right.

Still, not to worry. The President has a magical solution: "The American people understand that we need fundamental reform. . . . They want this Government to draw the line and to pass, without delay, a constitutional amendment making balanced budgets the law of the land."

What tempting simplicity! If Congress insists on behaving like an alcoholic, then ban cocktails. The trouble is the amendment stashes a bottle behind the sofa. It can't work.

The balanced budget amendment comes up for Senate action this week. Students of government—including conservatives—reject it as ignorant economics, destructive law, foolish administration and cynical politics. They are right.

The proposal would require Congress to adopt balanced budgets each year. Exceptions would be made for war or when 60 percent of both houses approved. Spending could increase no faster than the growth in "national income."

Why is it ignorant economics? Because the United States should not want to balance the budget every year. It should want to balance the economy.

Grains of Truth, Bushels of Chaff

How can you justify selling the Russians grain when you object so violently to the allies' buying their pipeline gas?

How can you fail to see the difference? We're taking their money; Europe's paying them money.

That's very clever, but off the point. We're looking after the income of our farmers and the Europeans are looking after the income of their workers. Why is our politics holier than theirs?

Politics has no place in global strategy. Our farmers are clamoring for multiyear contracts but we're approving these sales only one year at a time. And if we could deny the Russians grain, we would. But if we don't sell it to them, others will. When Jimmy Carter tried, it didn't hurt the Soviet Union but it was a terrible blow to our farmers.

Go over that one again, slowly. Wheat is wheat, corn is corn. What the Russians can't get from us they can always get, direct or indirect, from Canada, Argentina, Australia.

And the world market would buy our grain to fill the gaps?

Yes. So how does that hurt our farmers? Well, we can command a better price when we sell large amounts direct.

But if we held some of our grain off the market couldn't we drive up the world price and make it very expensive for them to buy elsewhere?

Ah, but then American consumers would also pay more for grain and our Government would have to buy the surplus. That could get expensive.

In a recession, spending for unemployment and other benefit programs goes up. That's a desirable counter-cyclical effect; it's sensible to run a deficit then. Otherwise, the economy would nose dive. If the amendment were in effect now, there would be five million more unemployed.

Why is the amendment destructive law? Because it would stuff the Constitution with baloney. As Professor Burke Marshall of Yale Law School wrote on the Op-Ed page recently, "It trivializes the Constitution to try, for the first time, to write into it what are essentially economic and social legislative policies." These are fluid policies, not of permanent constitutional weight. The sponsors know that. This would be the first amendment ever which Congress had the power to waive.

Why is the proposal foolish administration? Because there's no way to make it work. Congress wouldn't even know if it was obeying. Consider the immense variations between the forecasts used when a budget is enacted and the outcome 18 months later. As Rudolph Penner, the conservative economist, has observed, the 1981 budget was balanced on paper for much of 1980—but there was finally a deficit of \$58 billion.

Why is the proposal politically cynical? Because it is meaningless in practical terms. The President says that the amendment "could have a very profound effect." But Republican leaders have a very different view. "Frankly, it doesn't do a thing," says Senator Baker, the majority leader. "I don't think it would have any practical impact," says Senator Dole, the Finance Committee chairman.

If there are so many arguments against the amendment, why is the President for it? The only reason we can think of is that Mr. Reagan regards the voters as ignorant, docile and gullible, ready to thrill to the illusion of "balanced budget" but never grasp the reality of this wretched proposal. In short, he thinks they will be fooled. So, evidently, do a lot of Congressmen.

That's all the more reason for thoughtful citizens to stand up and say, No, we will not try to fool and we will not be fooled; a fraud's a fraud. Free people do not govern themselves by pretending to strap on a permanent straitjacket. They do it by making hard choices as they arise. The balanced budget amendment is not a constitutional matter at all. It's just a con.

But Where Are the Devious Scientists With Sinister Plots?

So it's not that we couldn't hurt the Russians, but that we don't want to pay the price? Isn't that Europe's logic, too, when it insists on going through with the pipeline?

You're still ignoring grand strategy. The Russians are practically broke. If we took their hard currency and Europe didn't give them any, sooner or later they wouldn't be able to afford more weapons and military adventures.

But you've said you'd relent on the pipeline when Poland ends martial law.

Yes, but then it would cost the Kremlin a lot more in subsidies to make the Polish people work productively.

Still, when it comes to security, haven't the Russians spent whatever it costs, for 60 years? And if the purpose is to make them shift spending from guns to bread, how does it help to sell them bread? It would cost them ten times as much to build a decent Soviet agriculture.

You can't look at it so narrowly. Bread isn't the rope that Lenin said we'd sell him to hang us with. But on this pipeline, they played one banker against another to get it built practically for nothing.

You could have stopped that by declaring Poland bankrupt and drying up Communist credit.

Well, we thought of that, but it would have really hurt our banks and maybe disrupted the whole banking system. And without stable banking, how would they ever pay for our grain?

And walk right into our trap? Now you've got it.

Topics

Glen Cove Pox

The first case of Glen Cove Pox was recorded in the summer of 1982, when that Long Island city's mayor and council were badly infected. The symptoms are deafness, defective reasoning, double-talk, an exaggerated strutting and narcissism before the tube. The afflicted crave attention but they can be addressed only slowly, like a backward child.

The disease struck when Glen Cove's leaders estimated they were losing \$100,000 a year in revenue because a local mansion, Killenworth, is occupied by Soviet diplomats posted to the United Nations and exempt from real estate taxes. This discovery coincided with reports that the city of 25,000 faced a budget deficit of \$2 million.

The mayor and council chose to punish the Russians, claiming not only that the diplomats paid no taxes but also that they were really spies. They were barred from

beaches, tennis courts and golf course. Therapy by reason proved ineffective.

It was pointed out that clerics and worshipers also used property that paid no taxes but were not thus barred from the beach. It was shown that the F.B.I. can adequately cope with espionage and might even prefer to have the Soviet spy diverted to recreation. Global strategists remonstrated that if every town ran a separate and hostile foreign policy, American diplomats abroad would encounter an epidemic of harassment.

None of this registered on the afflicted, who by now were mesmerized by their images on television. Talking very much like a head of state, Glen Cove's mayor demanded Federal compensation for lost taxes before he would relent.

It was then that State and Justice Department doctors knew they had to resort to shock therapy. There seems to be no alternative to a Federal lawsuit at the first sign of Glen Cove Pox.

Games

On sunny days in Times Square, Three Card Monte dealers sprout like wild mushrooms. So do their prey. The monte game supposedly originated in Mexico a century ago. It involves a dealer who shuffles three cards, two black and one red. The cards are placed face down and rapidly rearranged. A player bets he can keep track of the red one.

The dealer is assisted by sidekicks who watch for the police, or pick the pockets of bystanders or even rob a winner. There is yet another assistant, a still, who pretends to be an innocent and lucky player. It looks easy.

The other day we saw a man who looked like a tourist—New Yorkers don't wear white shoes and cameras around their necks—as he plunked three twenty dollar bills on the cardboard box of a table. Within a second, the dealer scooped up his winnings, saying "Nice try, try it again." The man muttered as he moved away. A shell game by any other name.

Letters

The Ominous Powers of Genetic Engineering . . .

To the Editor:

The Times is to be commended for alerting the public in its editorial "Whether to Make Perfect Humans" (July 22) to genetic engineering methods that might eventually be used to "perfect" humans. You point out the reluctance of biologists to carry on a dialogue with the public on this and other questions regarding genetic engineering. As a result, the technology for human engineering is developing rapidly without public input or control.

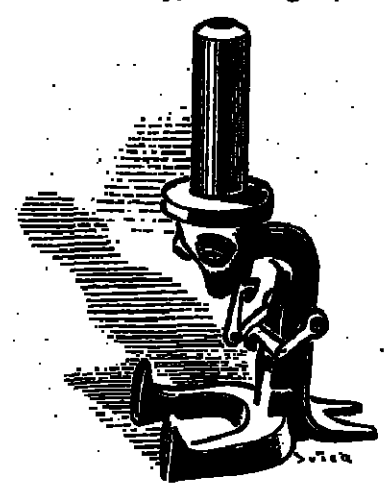
Although the repair of genetic defects appears laudable, the indistinct boundary between "repair" and "improvement" raises serious problems. Who is to decide what qualities define a perfect human? And even if there were a consensus today as to which genes are desirable, it certainly would not ensure that future generations would hold the same views. Clearly, the present cultural paradigm is an important determinant of present values.

Moreover, human characteristics that are desirable under present ecological conditions could prove irrelevant or detrimental in the future. Because of the accelerated environmental changes now produced by human activities, coupled with the widespread genetic manipulation of microorganisms (which play such a vital role in the maintenance of conditions favorable to human life), ecological instability is to be expected.

In a changing world, the genetic engineering of perfection would imply a divine intelligence that could peer far into the future.

Molecular biologists, like nuclear physicists before them, are euphoric over their success at deciphering an-

other of nature's secrets. But genetic engineering is not just another scientific accomplishment. Like nuclear physics, it confers on human beings a power for which they are psychologically and morally unprepared. The physicists have already learned this, to their dismay; the biologists, not



yet. Indeed, one Nobel laureate has boasted, "We can outdo evolution."

In the face of the infinite complexity of natural systems, the idea that we could improve on the design of nature is not only hubris, it is frightening.

In Lewis Thomas's words, we are ignorant "most of all about the enormous, imponderable system of life in which we are embedded as working parts. We do not really understand nature at all." We know that the earth has been like an indivisible, delicately tuned mechanism, in which the inanimate environment is strongly condi-

tioned by living things, and vice versa; but we have only begun to decipher the influence of each part on the whole.

Nevertheless, genetic engineering of microorganisms by recombinant DNA technology has proceeded rapidly and is now a widespread practice. More than 150 genetic engineering firms, mainly oriented toward the design of industrially useful microorganisms, have been formed in the last two years. From their laboratories, microorganisms with properties taken from higher forms of life will inevitably escape into the ecosystem; other engineered forms will eventually be released intentionally into the environment for purposes such as the solubilization of trace metals in mining operations or the digestion of oil spills. We are laying the groundwork for unforeseen evolutionary changes that may create an inhospitable environment for the human species.

The gene pool of the earth, which comprises all living organisms, is an irreplaceable legacy of evolution. It is in the truest sense a one-time occurrence, and it would be naïve to assume that we can manipulate it without harming ourselves. We do not have the infinite wisdom that would be required.

The pressing question now is whether we can find sufficient wisdom to resist the immediate lures of genetic engineering so that we can consider its ultimate implications before rushing ahead to make the biosphere our guinea pig.

LIEBE F. CAVALIERI
Rye, N.Y., July 26, 1982

The writer is professor of biochemistry at Cornell Medical College.

Fatally Flawed Irgun/P.L.O. Analogy

To the Editor:

C. P. Snow warned against misunderstandings between those in what he called "the two cultures": the arts and the sciences. As a psychiatrist sitting between these cultures, I'm appalled when one who should know better victimizes the other, as in your editorial "Whether to Make Perfect Humans" (July 22).

You charge that, in their zeal for genetic engineering, biologists resent and refuse to consider its long-term implications. But who are these biologists you so globally indict? Who, when, where, what and why did these allegedly draconian biologists desert? And what do you want these villains to do in order to regain your good blessings?

You ask for a "full debate" of the subject without suggesting when this kind of debate is "full." I suspect that's largely because you don't know, and you don't know because nobody knows. Ignorance is a misfortune, but not a sin. Your moral outrage at biologists who "mistrust the public's capacity for rational debate" seems more like your own mistrust and prejudgments.

Name-calling aside, you overlook the zillions of papers and books in which biologists have conducted that "full" debate. Publicly, they have offered all the available information and possible speculation, if for no other reasons than to increase their respectability, prestige, research funds and personal income. And even if dreadful secrets exist, they'll ultimately come out, as they always do. And even if they don't,

the long-term consequences you're worried about are so long-term that they're hardly worth invoking scare tactics that denigrate an entire profession and detract attention from more immediate, dangerous and real concerns over biological innovations.

If I, who have no particular interest in genetic engineering, am aware of organizations whose purpose is to provide this "full debate," why did you write as if they don't exist? When you self-righteously and rhetorically state that "the remaking of man is worth a little discussion," you should, for starters, have mentioned, among others, the Hastings Center (Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences).

By failing to note the mere existence of such organizations, you leave the impression that scientists have lower ethical standards and lesser humanistic concerns than non-scientists. Instead of hinting at sinister plots by devious scientists, you might have attributed to scientists the virtues and frailties they share with everyone else.

Your prejudices about scientists emerge in your assumptions. Even if the concept of a genetically "perfect human" weren't scientifically or even philosophically meaningless, let's say that such a hypothetical being could be created.

Assuming there are dangers in such a creation, who would be asking for this creation? Would it only be scientists? Hardly. The demand would come from

all sorts: artists and scientists, rich and poor, workers and freeloaders. It is us as a people, and not just our scientists, who would rush to folly.

Bias aside, your editorial reveals fundamental misconceptions about science. You state, "Once the biological machinery is completely understood, we are likely to be able to tinker with it." But already we're tinkering with our genes by the food we eat, the air we breathe and the medicine we take.

More importantly, it's absurd to believe that a time will arrive when our biological machinery, or any part of it, will be "completely understood." To set this mythical time as a criterion for determining when to launch more genetic engineering means to forbid genetic engineering for eternity.

Whether this prohibition is good, bad or possible is beside the point. Perhaps it's because you're not scientists that you fail to realize that in science, as in art, there are no ultimate, everlasting truths. In time, all scientific truths are revised and refuted. It is, and can be, only a matter of time.

By appreciating the relativity of scientific truths, those in the arts and in the sciences may discover they have more in common than each expects. Moreover, it's surely better than cloaking each other with ill-informed accusations, which only foster mutual distrust and precarious social policy.

JERROLD S. MAXMEN, M.D.
Associate Professor of Clinical Psychiatry, Columbia University
New York, July 22, 1982

Defects in a Critique Of Child-Labor Rules

To the Editor:

Your July 22 editorial on the Labor Department's child-labor proposals was in the highest tradition of moral literature: it demonstrated what it discussed.

With one hand you concede that the proposals "do not signal a return to dangerous exploitation of the 1,237,000 children aged 14 and 15 who now work," that one rule would "eliminate dated provisions" and that for the other there is at least "a good argument to be made." With the other you express astonishment that the Administration is willing to create "an impression of sneering at issues the public thinks were settled by the New Deal."

But from where will such an impression come, if the proposals are so reasonable? From the opinion leaders of editorial pages, apparently.

Even more intriguing is your application of Frances Perkins's "ironic barb about putting more children to work while millions of adults stand unemployed." Perhaps sauce for the gossamer is sauce for the goose, and we may now safely inveigh against the requirement (not permission) that business put more women to work when millions of men are unemployed.

At least the odds are good that when a 14-year-old does 24 hours of valuable work a week for market wages we won't be taxing other workers to fund day care for the 14-year-old's children.

ELIZABETH BREEDLOVE
Ridgefield, Conn., July 22, 1982

Mrs. Schlafly's Point

To the Editor:

Your attack on Phyllis Schlafly ["Sex Education and Mrs. Schlafly," editorial July 25] did not fairly explain the situation.

Sex education has been part of the curriculum in a high percentage of the schools in America for many years. In the last 10 years, the average age of pregnant, unmarried teen-age girls has dropped from 15½ to 13½. The number of live births has increased from 330,000 to 850,000. The number of abortions has increased from 750,000 to two million.

If sex education were working, these statistics would not have developed. It is obvious that the schools do not know whether Mrs. Schlafly's statement that "sex education is a principal cause of teen-age pregnancy" is correct or not.

Perhaps sex education is best left with the family. For when it was, the incidence of teen-age pregnancy was lower. B. FRANKLIN REINAUER 2D
Hackensack, N.J., July 26, 1982

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WASHINGTON — Secretary of State George P. Shultz has made a good start toward a United States policy for peace in the Middle East by making clear his awareness that self-determination and security are the rights of both Palestinians and Israelis. To this sound beginning should be added other essential and mutually supporting ingredients to peacemaking. These will not by themselves bring peace, but without them there can be no real progress toward peace.

Bypass Camp David. Another route to peace needs to be found if American global security and regional interests are to be protected. Israel will continue to use loopholes in the language of the agreement to prevent genuine negotiating progress. In deed, although not in word, Israel has abrogated the Camp David agreement. It has said that it will not relinquish the West Bank and has unilaterally redefined the word autonomy in the agreement to this end. It is trying to create a quiescent government over a subject people in the West Bank and Gaza. In Lebanon it is trying to destroy the Palestinian national movement and, with it, self-determination for the West Bank and Gaza.

Talk to the Palestine Liberation Organization. This would end the shadow boxing and tell us if its chairman, Yasser Arafat, really will make a reciprocal agreement with Israel recognizing Israeli and Palestinian rights to self-determination and security. Arab-Israeli peace, as Abba Eban pointed out years ago, cannot be achieved by "immaculate conception." Henry A. Kissinger's weakened promise not to negotiate with the P.L.O. until it recognized Israel's right to exist can be dispensed with by saying it has been invalidated by Israel's announced rejection of Resolution 242 and de facto abrogation of Camp David or by issuing a constructively ambiguous statement that allows the United States to talk with the

Essentials Of Quest For Peace In Mideast

By Granville Austin

P.L.O. to promote negotiations with Israel.

Define "support for Israel." The United States is and must remain committed to supporting Israel. Yet failure to define this commitment has confused United States policy, divided Americans and strained relations with Israel, the Arabs and others. "Support" should mean protecting Israel's existence and helping its well-being in ways consistent with the American definition of United States interests. When Israel's policies endanger American security and other vital interests, as they do now, the United States must be free to put its own security first. In return for its fundamental support, the United States can reasonably expect Israeli solicitude for vital American interests. By protecting its own security, the United States is protecting Israel's, for Israel depends on American strength.

Level with Congress and the public. The secrecy necessary for delicate negotiations aside, Americans must see the overall shape of the Administration's Middle East policy — so they can judge its fairness to all parties — if they are to support it. Extremism and ignorance of Administration policies and the definition of "support" have reduced the public debate to the

sterile level of whether American policy is pro-Israel or anti-Israel. Neither American nor Israeli interests can be protected in this fashion. The debris of 15 years of executive branch cynicism, secrecy and crisis diplomacy lies all around us.

Use leverage wisely. It is certain that there will not be peace between Israel and the Arabs unless the United States brings them to peace through a combination of inducements and pressures. Both must be credible to each government involved, and acquiescence to this leverage must promise to serve each government's interests better than the current situation. This means that the Administration will have to tell the Arabs and Israel (and Americans) where it intends to go. Sovereign nations cannot be driven into the unknown; sometimes they can be nudged and led to a brighter future.

Each use of leverage dilutes its future strength. The United States should not exhaust its leverage on peripheral issues. It must concentrate its leverage on establishing and sustaining negotiations to achieve a just and comprehensive peace.

Do our own thing. Recent administrations have tended more to react to Middle East events and pressures than to pursue a firm and steady course on the Arab-Israeli dispute. For the United States to be unsure of its own position compounds the endemic uncertainties it already faces in the region. Mr. Shultz and the President should determine their policy for peace between the Arabs and Israel, let the world know what it is, then work toward the goal vigorously. Until they do, the United States will continue to be the victim of other nations' policies and its own haphazardness.

Granville Austin is a former American press attaché in Lebanon and a former State Department director of research and analysis for the Near East and South Asia.

Suppose the following, if you can:

In some future Soviet-American crisis, things get so tense that the Soviets call upon their well-planned and efficient civil defense program to evacuate the populations of their cities. The President of the United States thus faces a three-pronged dilemma.

Are the Soviets emptying their cities in preparation for a nuclear attack on the United States and showing their ability to absorb its response? Or are they acting in fear of a U.S. attack on them? Or is the evacuation an ingenious bit of blackmail designed to make the President think Moscow is about to fire its missiles, thus to frighten him into submission?

Any way you look at it, the Reagan Administration contends, the President will need to be ready with his own civil defense program to evacuate American cities, too — show the Communists we're not afraid, that we're as well prepared as they are to survive nuclear war, and that we can't be bluffed or blackmailed. And if the Russians aren't kidding, 180 million Americans — 80 percent of the population — can live through the nuclear holocaust and bring society back to normal in a relatively few years.

That's a large part of the rationale behind President Reagan's new civil defense program, for which the House of Representatives has just approved a beginning authorization of \$252 million — although not without attempting to put a fig leaf over its action by changing the name of the program to "civil disaster."

But in fact the Soviets don't have a well-planned and efficient civil defense program, any more than the United States does, for the simple reason that "civil defense" is impossible in a nuclear war. In the Soviet Union, particularly, the lack of anything more than a primitive highway system suggests how difficult the evacuation

IN THE NATION

A Dangerous Band-Aid

By Tom Wicker

tion of Soviet cities would be, especially in winter. And chronic Soviet food shortages would make it impossible to stockpile necessary provisions — an essential in any civil defense program.

Adm. Noel Gayler, retired, a specialist on nuclear weapons matters, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last March that the Soviet civil defense program "is a phony, a Potemkin Village." Yet, this chimera is always cited by hard-nosed anti-Soviets as proof that Moscow is getting ready to launch a nuclear war or to engage in nuclear blackmail.

Why, then, shouldn't Mr. Brezhnev and those around him look at the new Reagan program — the stated cost of which is to be \$4.2 billion over seven years, a vast underestimate — and come to the same conclusion in reverse? So Mr. Reagan's plan probably represents another upward spiral of nuclear confrontation, with both sides more wary of the other and more determined to prepare against any possibility, real or imagined.

To the extent, moreover, that the American people may be led to believe that a civil defense program assures the survival of the nation and most of its people, nuclear war obviously becomes more "thinkable."

a possible instrument of policy rather than a catastrophe so unimaginably horrible that "the living would envy the dead." And to the extent that the Government of either superpower persuades itself that it can defend its own population, nuclear war could become more nearly an acceptable option to either or both.

That's the real danger in the kind of civil defense planning now going forward in the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and being approved by Congress. It logically complements Secretary of Defense Weinberger's "guidance" for the Pentagon that in a nuclear war the United States "must prevail and be able to force the Soviet Union to seek earliest termination of hostilities on terms favorable" to the U.S.

The Administration believes the ability to win a nuclear war is the best deterrent to a Soviet attack. But most authorities believe such superiority cannot be achieved, while the effort to reach it is bound to speed the arms race and stimulate Moscow's hostility and suspicion.

Thus, a big civil defense program conceivably makes nuclear war more, not less likely. But it can do nothing to make it more "winable," as Representative Edward Markey told the House, civil defense can only be "a band-aid over the holocaust."

A detailed analysis of the Reagan program by the Center for Defense Information amply supports Mr. Markey's view. For example: when the F.E.M.A. estimates that 80 percent of the population could survive a nuclear war, it assumes that all deaths would be caused at once, by immediate blast effects. Near-perfect fallout protection, for as long as necessary, also is assumed.

Such absurdities, which are many, will be discussed in another article.

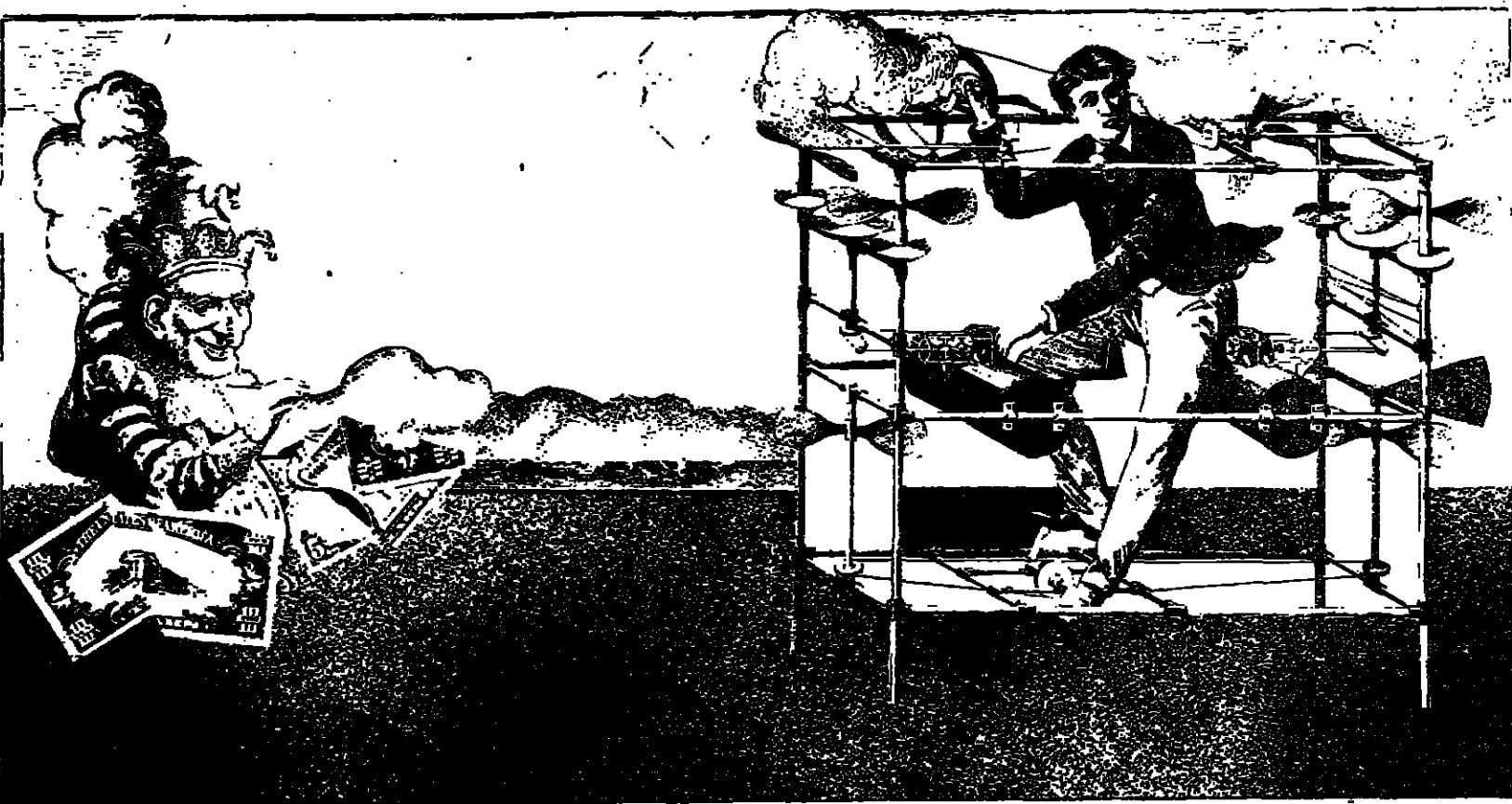
James Reston is on vacation.

Child Labor Law: Bad Time For Shift

By Jeffrey Newman

The Reagan Administration has proposed changes in Federal child labor law regulations that would substantially increase permissible working hours for 14- and 15-year-olds. It is the right idea in the wrong context at the wrong time. Promulgated at a time of recession and record-high unemployment for adults and 16- to 21-year-olds, it is a slap in the face for the nation's working class and a pig in a poke for both business and young people.

Today, 1 out of every 10 American workers is unemployed, and 1 out of every 4 in the 16- to 21-year-old group is out of work. Yet the Administration would expand the job market exclusively for 14- and 15-year-olds, the group least likely to be supporting dependents or themselves. Moreover, it is highly questionable whether businesses — i.e. fast food establishments, supermarkets, etc. — who would supposedly benefit directly from such changes, will want to increase their hours or hiring of young people they already decry as unskilled and unprepared for the world of work.



Since the Administration has committed almost nothing to preparing and training young teen-agers for the world of work, the proposed regulations encourage 14- and 15-year-olds to make a dead-end salary into the job market — with no supportive services at schools or in communities. In short, the young teen-ager will be exploited without the slightest promise of the developmental gains long recognized as essential for this age group.

Not even during World War II, when the nation's domestic manpower needs were at their greatest, did the country seriously consider reducing restrictions for these young people without commensurate educational and developmental programs.

Further, without careful planning and structure as well as strong links with educational institutions, expanded work hours will make 14- and 15-year-olds vulnerable to several dan-

gers. These include unscrupulous employers who would go well beyond the law, exploiting young people who have neither the knowledge nor the authority to demand just when child labor law enforcement is almost nonexistent because of Government cutbacks. The dangers also include decreased hours for school work, greater inattentiveness in school and increased risk of becoming crime victims as they return home well after dark.

Even in 1982 America, 14- and 15-year-olds are still children. Without solid structure for most of their activities, their development and their futures can be seriously imperiled.

Yet, the Administration's proposal might not be bad under better economic conditions and within the context of a multifaceted community approach to the problems of youth unemployment. A comprehensive study of Federal and state child labor

laws completed last year by the National Child Labor Committee concluded that modernization in many areas was both desirable and necessary.

Much has changed since the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938, which created our current Federal child labor laws. But over the last four decades there have been no significant legislative or regulatory changes.

Today's 14- and 15-year-olds could benefit greatly from well-designed work and education programs far less restrictive than the law now allows. With public- and private-sector commitments to provide structured training and employment opportunities for entry-level workers — particularly for disadvantaged youths — fewer restrictions would serve the interests of 14- and 15-year-olds, businesses and their communities. But without that context, the proposed change rings of simple exploitation.

Child labor laws should not, in and of themselves, be considered sacrosanct. Those that legitimately protect the health, safety, well-being and development of children and youth should remain, and even be strengthened. However, child labor laws should also be reviewed regularly in light of the changing needs of the nation's young people.

Fourteen- and 15-year-olds can indeed contribute to and gain from the work place, and in the future we should consider modifying overly restrictive laws that limit their opportunities for legitimate training and work experience. But the time is not when their fathers, mothers and older brothers and sisters stand six-deep on the nation's unemployment lines.

Jeffrey Newman is executive director of the private, nonprofit National Child Labor Committee.

Call One.
"Hello? Municipal Federal Trust?"
"Yes."
"I'm having a problem with my mortgage."
"Your mortgage number?"
"21Z-55983R-20."
"One moment please."
"Hello?"
"Mortgage department?"
"Yes. Your mortgage number?"
"21Z-55983R-20."
"One moment."
"Extended silence."
"Mr. Stone?"
"Yes."
"What seems to be the problem?"
"I've received a computerized note from the bank that my mortgage payment is late and that I now owe the bank, with late charges, \$2,000."
"Let me check that."
"Extended silence."
"Mr. Stone?"
"Yes."
"According to our records your payments are up to date. The check and your coupon must have been received."
"I don't have any coupons. The bank hasn't sent me any coupons in months. When I spoke to Ms. Drainer last week."
"Ms. Drainer is no longer in this department."
"However, when I did speak with her she said to simply send a check with my mortgage number written."
"We do send you 12 months of coupons."
"I've yet to receive more than six months of coupons and those generally arrive a couple of months late."
"Where do you live, Mr. Stone?"
"Westchester."
"We've been having trouble getting the coupons out to Westchester."
"To whom am I speaking, please?"
"This is Ms. Quill."
"Are you in charge of my account?"
"I was placed in charge yesterday. The bank rescheduled the staff every six months so that we can each take part in its various services."
"Ms. Grave promised to send me

my coupons and a letter clearing up any record of late."
"Ms. Grave is in checking."
"Is there a vice president I may speak to?"
"One moment. I'll try to get Mr. Brethwaite."
"Very extended silence."
"Hello? Mr. Stone?"
"Yes."
"Mr. Brethwaite is not picking up."
"Ms. Quill, do you think you could

'This Is 2LZ-55983R-20'

By Herb Falk

send me the coupons and a letter that my payments are up to date?"
"Certainly, sir. Just let me confirm my information. You're Marvin Stone, 88 Elderdown Close, Preston-

ville?"
"No. I'm Edgar Stone, 47 Periwinkle Place, Cliffmont."
Call Two
"Hello?"

Helsinki Still Works

By William Korey

ate of Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, was devoted to an ardent though shallow defense of Soviet human rights. It mentioned Helsinki but once, and then inconsequentially. When Mr. Chernenko delivered a critically important foreign policy speech to the French Communist Party this year, reference to the Final Act was altogether avoided.

The downplaying hardly comes as a surprise. At the Madrid review conference, the egregious Soviet abridgments of the Helsinki human rights provisions have been trumpeted to the world. Nearly 90 cases were thoroughly documented by the West, highlighting the crackdown on Jewish emigration and the repression of the voluntary Helsinki Watch committees. Madrid became an embarrassment to the Soviet Union.

Still, the Kremlin eschews any indication of withdrawal from Helsinki. On the contrary, Pravda declared on Feb. 4 this year that Moscow "attached great importance" to the Madrid meeting. Five days later, Leonid F. Ilyichev, the chief Soviet delegate, told the review session that the Soviet Union was "interested in a consistent continuation" of the Helsinki process.

Two key considerations guide this

decision. First is Mr. Brezhnev's personal involvement. His name has been repeatedly linked by the Soviet Union with the Helsinki Final Act. On his 75th birthday last December, Pravda noted that he originated the idea of Helsinki "back in the mid-1960's." The Final Act was said to have constituted "a brilliant success."

Second and equally important are hard policy interests. Central to Soviet diplomacy is the weakening and ultimately the severing of the American alliance with Western Europe. Helsinki is seen in Moscow as a vital forum for exploiting differences between Washington and its NATO allies. Emphasis is placed on the benefits for Western Europe of trade with the Soviet Union and on disarmament. A Soviet media official this year declared that it was becoming "more and more clear" to the Europeans that the American posture at Madrid did "not accord with the true realities" on the Continent.

While Moscow faces a dilemma in reacting to Madrid, there are those in the United States who have urged withdrawal from the Helsinki process on grounds that the Final Act merely ratifies Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. The brutal suppression in Po-

land of Solidarity and of human rights since last Dec. 13 has reinforced this view. Many prominent voices have called for an American boycott of Madrid.

But American participation enabled Madrid to be a powerful vehicle for placing the conduct of the Polish military Government and its Soviet supporters in the glare of international public exposure. The Polish Deputy Foreign Minister may have declared that "we shall not take part in conferences in which Poland would be made to stand in the dock," but he was faced by no practical alternative. And Soviet maneuvers to thwart the detailed revelations and denunciations seriously damaged the Kremlin's image.

With human rights progress in Poland still negligible, pressure on the new Secretary of State to abandon Madrid is certain to intensify. Yet abandonment would play into the hands of the Kremlin's diplomatic strategy. At the same time, it would mean the rejection of the most significant international forum for airing gross human rights violations in Eastern Europe.

Representative Elliott H. Levitas, Democrat of Georgia, after an official visit to Moscow early this year, reported that Soviet dissidents and activists considered Madrid "vital for their security and well-being." The same perspective no doubt applies to all those yearning for freedom and dignity. It should be a guideline for our foreign policy.

"One moment please."
"Brrrr."
"May I help you?"
"Yes, I."
"May I have your card number?"
"777493862400863-1."
"Mr. Stone?"
"Yes."
"What seems to be the problem?"
"I tried to get money with the card at the bank assigned to me and they didn't know what I was talking about."
"Which bank was that, sir?"
"First Continental Consolidated. They said they were not participating in the Direct Dollar service."
"What branch was that?"
"The one on Van Tassle Lane, around Wall Street."
"That's right, sir, that branch is not participating in Direct Dollars."
"Well, which branch does?"
"One moment, sir. Yes, First Continental Consolidated in Speonk."
"Speonk? Only in Speonk? First C.C. has 126 branches and I have to go to Speonk to get 35 bucks?"
"You could use our Direct Dollar Easy Access machines. Where are you located, sir?"
"Lower Manhattan."
"Our Easy Access machines are located in Newark Airport and at Journal Square, Jersey City."
"For this I got a Golden Giant Card, to schlepp to Jersey City to cash a check?"
"Where do you live?"
"Westchester."
"One moment, sir. Yes, we have Easy Access service in Blauvelt."
"Blauvelt? Blauvelt? That's in Rockland County, 40 miles —"
"Mr. Stone, perhaps you'd be better off using our Golden Giant Midas Master money machines."
"Fine. Are they centrally located?"
"Yes, sir. Midas Master is now in operation at MacArthur Airport and the Pompton Lakes Shopping Center. Does that help you, Mr. Stone? Mr. Stone?"

Herb Falk, a university information officer, has changed only the names in these conversations in an effort to avoid retribution.


How This Can Alter Our View Of Music

Of course, some changes in evaluation in the test and significant. The results indicate that, in the long run,

[illegible]

Musical reputations and fashions ebb and flow with time. Inhabiting this Daliesque landscape are, left to right, Wagner and Shostakovich, who have lately been re-evaluated; Mozart and the puritanical Beethoven, who was horrified by Mozart's "Così Fan Tutti," and Monteverdi, whose "Poppea" is back in vogue after 300 years of neglect.

Among performers, the damage done to reputations in the same wartime period is extensive and has never been adequately documented. Alfred Cortot was one of the most admired elders of pianism before World II, but his enthusiasm for the Vichy regime proved costly: his recordings, once regarded as classics, do not seem to circulate much nowadays. In the same generation of performers, Kirsten Flagstad, Walter Gieseking and Wilhelm Furtwängler were similarly downgraded — though in recent years the Furtwängler star has gone up again as a new crop of imitators has arisen.

Sometimes the turns in fashion seem to come for no other reason than political or otherwise. Overexposure and critical bashing operate in some instances. At the moment, Strider is up and Tchaikovsky is down, but that may change any minute. Vladimir Horowitz, for so many years the object of stern and unbending criticism for his technique, is back in the pantheon, for who knows how long. International art has been returned to respectability by such collectors of Hudson River School paintings as Michael Portraits no longer must feel ashamed. The world's beatification of Norman Rockwell may be coming to the corner. In fact, if you don't like the culture, wait a minute. New virtues will momentarily be discovered in Dali,  Leger, in Oliver Wendell Holmes, in Robert Service, in Miles van der Rohe and the Statue of Lincoln Center.

Nothing is certain but that the wheel of fashion will be turning and that the arts will be on it. "Le Sacre

100

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The Post's Liora Moriel talks to two historians about the Exodus drama, which occurred just 35 years ago.

Victory at sea

THIRTY-FIVE years ago, on July 29, 1947, three British destroyers anchored in Port du Boue in southern France. The three ships carried an unusual cargo: 4,530 Jewish *ma'apilim* — illegal immigrants to Palestine.

The British hoped that this would be the end of the strange saga of the Exodus, a rickety vessel which had carried the refugees from France to Palestine just a few days earlier. In fact, this was but the beginning.

At 3.45 a.m. on July 11 the Exodus had set out from Sète, France, for Haifa. British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin had tried to persuade the French to stall the ship, but to no avail. In fact, a mechanic was sent on board a day earlier to dismantle the engine, but left it intact. The reason for this is still obscure. Was he bribed? Were his orders changed? Did he act according to his own conscience? Nobody knows. He came and went off, leaving behind two policemen who left the ship before it set out on its historic voyage.

It is still a bit of a mystery why, despite repeated pleas for cooperation from the British, the French Government decided to help the Jews. Prof. Ze'ev Hadari, who was then head of operations for Aliya Bet in France, under the guidance of Shaul Avigur, (and now heads the nuclear physics department of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) has his own theory:

"At the time, after the war, because of the cool treatment of De Gaulle by the British, the French simply hated them. This was especially true of the French intelligence service with which we worked. Then there is the humanitarian reason. There weren't many French partisans, and therefore they wanted to compensate the Jews for the hardships they had suffered." The French Government in 1947 was a mixture of Socialists and Catholic-Liberals.

The Minister of the Interior, Edouard Depreux, was especially favourable to the Zionist cause.

As soon as the Exodus left French territorial waters, three (later, four) British destroyers flanked her all the way to Haifa, where a battle soon raged between British soldiers and Jewish refugees. There were three deaths aboard the ship — a fourth person later died of his wounds — and several soldiers were injured. The British finally succeeded in evacuating the 4,530 men, women and children into three warships with the help of tear gas. The *ma'apilim* fought all the way, using sticks and stones and half-opened cans for weapons.

"On the twelfth of July, 1947, Ernest Bevin, life-size, visited France for a whole day and met with the prime minister, the foreign minister, with the deputy prime minister and with the minister of the interior. At that time, he already wanted to persuade them to force the refugees to disembark on French soil."

PROFESSOR HADARI relishes the past. He and historian Dr. Ze'ev Tzahor are collaborating on a book about illegal immigration to Israel, about those who came by boat between the Second World War and the Israeli War of Independence. Last year they published their first book together (*Boats or States*), which dealt with the effort to bring 15,000 refugees to the Promised Land after the Holocaust.

Dr. Tzahor is young and pragmatic: "The departure from Europe to Israel was very difficult and fraught with danger. But people were ready for hardship, because they felt that Cyprus was almost Israel: it's close, and the British had no choice but to eventually allow them to enter the homeland."

"Bevin thought that if he stopped the Cyprus business and sent the



people back from where they came, they'd sum up the situation — danger, great difficulties, adventure, and then a return to the point of origin — and think it isn't worth it! So this decision to not bring Exodus to Cyprus was a decision designed to break the war."

The decision was not Bevin's alone, but one taken by the entire British Cabinet. The British viewed the *ma'apilim* with alarm, much more so than they did the underground organizations, which, though a nuisance to say the least, they could at least understand and fight in familiar ways.

Dr. Tzahor believes that the "illegal immigrants" posed a treat.

"The dilapidated boats, holding thousands of refugees from the Holocaust, which had just ended, in the middle of the open sea with British warships surrounding them — it was impossible to explain this to the world."

"The British set aside their whole navy in the Eastern Mediterranean, a command post, several hundred

intelligence agents in Europe, and a whole fleet of patrol boats and surveillance planes just to fight illegal boat people! A ship on the sea is something with great mystical and informational power. The British feared them for another reason as well. Although there were internal rivalries in the Zionist movement and between the Jews in Israel and those abroad, there was consensus on this matter everywhere." Thus, even the non-Zionist, sometimes anti-Zionist Joint Distribution Committee backed the illegal boat immigration and supported it financially.

THE BRITISH had a grand total of seven warships in the area, of which three were now housing refugees from Exodus. The ships were really floating jails, surrounded by barbed wire. A United Nations fact-finding mission happened to arrive just as the refugees were forcibly put aboard these ships, and this sealed their decision that the Jews must have a state of their own.

"The Exodus drama is thus linked to another drama forming a series of interconnected circles," Dr. Tzahor explains. "Bevin gives up the world sees that there is no solution, a UN delegation suggests the formation of a state, and the general feeling is that if this is the situation, and there is no other solution to the plight of thousands of refugees than the Land of Israel, then there's no choice but to give them Israel."

On July 24, 1947, the French Government, meeting in an extraordinary session in the president's summer residence, decided that France would not coerce the refugees to disembark in France although "it would grant asylum to those seeking it." Young François Mitterrand, as the government's spokesman, read out the message to the world.

Five days later, the British ships and their "hostages" landed at Port du Boue. The French Government sent a delegation to greet them, including a translator named Venya, now Professor Hadari.

"I wore a French policeman's uniform but was an expert in Hebrew and Yiddish. Aliya Bet organized small boats which circled the ships and called out to the people through megaphones not to disembark. My job was to translate, and at the end of every sentence I added, 'Don't disembark.'"

"The British were not ashamed to say that they would 'sizzle us in the sun.' I don't think that any other event in post-war Europe so aroused international public opinion as did this affair."

The Aliya Bet people knew how to marshal public opinion through using the world press to its advantage. There were nearly 30 reporters from all over the globe in the small port town; nearly every nation was represented.

"For the first time, in front of the whole world, people announced that they didn't want to disembark."

"There were pregnant women on those ships, and they were offered hospital care, but they didn't disembark. Every time I'm asked who won in this struggle, I say the Jewish mother who decided that she would give birth aboard ship, because she wanted her son or daughter to get to Israel. That's the victory."

"We think, and not only we, that the United Nations decision on November 29, 1947 was largely due

to the strong will evinced by the 4,500 Jews who said, 'We will not disembark,'" sums up Professor Hadari.

FROM THAT moment on, the British in effect gave up the struggle and carried on purely on inertia.

The 4,530 *ma'apilim* did make it to Israel, but not straight away. On August 26, the three British ships went on to Hamburg, where the Jews were forced finally to disembark. The British wanted them to go back to France by rail, but the French refused participation in another chapter in the already-lengthy affair.

Bit by bit, in small ships, the *ma'apilim* were spirited away to France and on to Palestine by the Aliya Bet people, until in 1948 the State of Israel was declared and the remnants arrived legally and regally.

On July 11, 1982, a strange little ceremony took place in Sète, France: the unveiling of a memorial plaque honouring those brave boat people.

In November, an exhibition of illegal immigration boats will open in Marseilles. There will also be boats prepared in France for use elsewhere on display. Francois Mitterrand, it seems, has a sense of history.

WAR AND FAMINE have been linked since ancient times, a phenomenon that is happily remote from the lives of most people in this country. Yet we are familiar with periods in not-so-ancient history when war and other times of hardship played up the importance of growing the food the family needs at home.

The older generation still recalls the World War II campaign in which those on the home-front did what they could to grow their own vegetables. It was widespread in Europe. Perhaps the most famous expression of it was England's "Dig for Victory" drive, which turned that country's impeccable lawns, tennis courts and ornamental gardens into vegetable plots. Even the royal garden at Buckingham Palace was not excluded.

The Americans, too, had their Victory Gardens, and patriotic fervor poured into gardening efforts. In the flag-waving atmosphere of that period, the Allies perhaps would not have taken it kindly to be informed that the idea of establishing land allotments for families to feed themselves from was largely German in origin.

A German physician, Dr. Daniel Gottlieb Moritz Schreber, initiated in 1832 the first community vegetable garden where working class poor grew their own produce

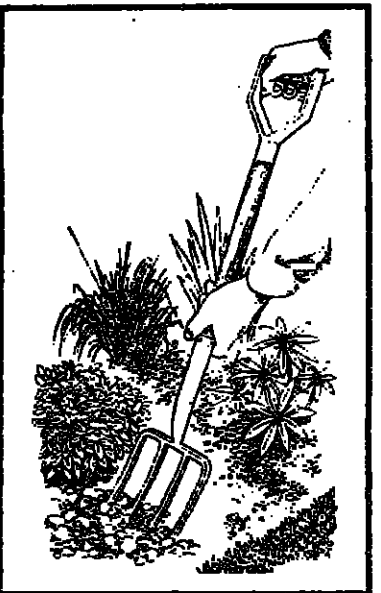
at Johannistal near Leipzig. Despite many obstacles and public prejudice against his ideas, he succeeded in obtaining from the authorities some uncultivated land for his project.

Schreber died in 1861, but the movement he inspired lived into the next century. The statistics about the Schreber gardens tended during World War I speak for themselves. In the vicinity of Berlin alone, there were some 40,000 family vegetable plots. In 1914, this writer belonged to the Zionist *Blau-Weiss* youth movement and Schreber gardening was one of our activities in which we children of Vienna learned about growing potatoes, lettuce and tomatoes.

In Palestine during World War II, the food shortage was acute. Tomatoes could only be bought on the black market, and prices were exorbitant. Rahel Yanait Ben-Zvi founded the *Magen David Yarak* to promote intensive efforts at vegetable growing. The city landscape was transformed. Cabbages, carrots, cucumbers and other "crops" appeared in the yards of schools and kindergartens, in the courtyards of Mandatory administration buildings and even in military installations. Pupils at Jerusalem's Gymnasia Rehavia received permission to dig in the grounds of the Jewish Agency

Grow your own

GARDENER'S CORNER
Walter Frankl



building, where they grew vegetables for two years.

TODAY WE HAVE no shortage of vegetables in Israel. Despite the war, greenhouses are well-stocked. It is a remarkable fact since farm hands are still serving in the armed forces, and those involved in agricultural transport are working with reduced manpower. The effect of this may be felt in two to three months time. It would not be out of place, even as just a reminder of the hardships others are suffering, to devote some time to growing food at home. Such an effort may even prove a boon to the family budget.

From the middle of August until the end of September, you can sow

or plant all kinds of vegetables in most parts of our country. Buy some cow manure, compost or other organic plant food and get ready to dig plots or to prepare big enough containers. The vegetables and herbs listed below may be cultivated from the middle of August:

In heavy or medium soil, sow potatoes, tomatoes (straight into the growing bed, to be thinned out later), cucumbers, marrows, carrots, beetroots, radishes, beans (from September also peas and broad beans), spinach and New Zealand spinach, lettuce, kohlrabi, parsley and dill. Set out seedlings of cauliflower, white cabbage, tomatoes (plants are available now), eggplants, peppers, kohlrabi New Zealand spinach, leeks and celery.

You can also prepare your own seedlings now, using seed boxes or frames. All members of the cabbage family and lettuce varieties may be sown in mid-August in your home nursery; they will be ready for transplanting in mid-September, and harvesting will begin during early December.

People who do not have the garden space to use these directions can grow most of these food plants, including potatoes, in containers. I myself once grew potatoes hydroponically in containers of sawdust. The late Dr. Selig Soskin, the father of hydroponic research in Israel, called them *tapuhet nesseret*, sawdust apples.

People in the plains or along the coast with sandy soil only should either wait for cooler weather or mix red soil and compost into their garden beds.

A sense of independence is only one of the reasons for growing your own vegetables; others are their freshness and better taste. Sow potatoes at the end of August, and you will enjoy potato pancakes made from freshly harvested crops on Hanukka eve!

Vegetable growing is not just a shortcut to cheaper meals, but also a source of healthful exercise in fresh air. The act of cultivating the soil will prove to be a welcome contrast to the tension of everyday life. Half of an hour of working in the garden will leave you completely relaxed.

Tomato idea. Getting a tomato crop from seeds takes more than three months. Easier, quicker, recommended and cheaper is a new method by David Jansen Young of Kansas City, Mo., who uses the side sprouts that appear in the axils of tomato plants. Unlike most gardeners who remove these "tomato suckers" and throw them away, Young lets them grow until they are 10-12 cm. long. Then he cuts them off with a sharp knife or a razor blade and transplants these clones into tin or flower pots filled with a red soil, sand and compost mixture (equal parts). The containers should be watered and kept in half shade.

Select cuttings only from the most promising-looking plants. Cut cleanly and taper the end of the sucker. Roots tend to form quickly around cut edges, so the more cut edge the better. Keep the soil damp but not water-logged. Foliage on the sucker may not even wilt. If it does, cut away the yellow parts, and the plant will perk up in a day or so.

After 10 days, shift the containers into direct sun for one hour a day, after two weeks, they can go in the sun and stay. After a month, plants will be fully rooted and may be either transplanted into the garden or into bigger containers. Even if you don't transplant, they will bear fruit.

Don't forget to stake all tomatoes carefully, tying them to a stick or a fence as their height demands. The plants should produce a second crop of tomatoes in autumn of the same quality that the parent plant showed, but from young, vigorous vines.

Catching up on studies

By LEA LEVAVI/Jerusalem Post Reporter

BAR ILAN University, with the help of its Friends Association in England, has purchased 500 radios and large quantities of socks and underwear for Israeli troops in Lebanon.

The university is also trying to do everything possible to help reservist students return to their studies after release from the army. Additional test dates will be set when it is known when most of the soldiers will be released, and any soldier still serving on those dates will be given individual examinations after release, even if the next academic year has already begun.

If soldiers on compulsory service are kept on after their scheduled discharge date, and if the new school year has already begun, first-

year students (and any reservists with the same problem) will be given assistance to catch up with the lessons they miss, so that they will not have to miss the academic year.

Tel Aviv University plans similar special help to students in uniform. (Students who are close relatives of soldiers seriously wounded or killed in the war will also have the opportunity to take their exams later on).

The university spokeswoman said it is still too early to plan test dates, or how lectures will be printed — so that students who miss the beginning of the new school year can catch up, but that in principle the university will do everything possible to meet the students more than halfway.

She added that students who had

registered to begin their studies next fall, but who are still in the army at that time and decide not to go to the university, will have their registration fee returned, which is otherwise non-refundable.

Tel Aviv University administrative staff raised \$450,000 for the Israel Defence Fund. Students living in the dormitories (including new immigrants, students in the one-year Overseas Programme, and Israelis from poor families) raised \$60,000 to send packages to soldiers.

The Dental School provided enough money to buy four portable television sets and two large radio sets, which were given to the Soldiers Welfare Committee for distribution.

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LAST YEAR alone, 82,000 people from the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries, and 130,000 Cubans entered the United States. Among them were scientists, diplomats, tourists, seamen, students — and spies.

They joined resident communist diplomats, "news" correspondents and agents under deep cover.

"We know that some of them wish to collect sensitive information," says FBI director William Webster.

The FBI is responsible for counter-intelligence — catching spies within the U.S. The CIA's turf is abroad, with a few closely monitored exceptions.

The FBI's big problem is the almost impossible task of keeping track of spies and potential spies in a free society, with liberal immigration policies and almost no travel restrictions. Experts say foreign agents now outnumber FBI agents and the gap is widening.

"U.S. technology, whether it's military or purely industrial, is a principal spy target for foreign intelligence operations," Webster said. "I don't think there's been a time in our history when our country has been under such a sophisticated espionage assault. And in that battle," he said, "we are largely outgunned as to numbers of intelligence officers."

Robert Kinsey, former deputy chief of the FBI's Soviet desk, said recently that the number of KGB agents in the U.S. had "doubled in the last 10 years."

"There was a time when I was first in the office, when we could put an agent on an identified, suspected Soviet intelligence officer on a one-to-one basis," he said. "When I left, we were vastly outnumbered."

"Our special agent ranks are down by almost 10 per cent from where we were five or six years ago," Webster claimed. "Our budget isn't keeping pace with inflation. Yet our foreign counter-intelligence assignments continue to grow both in scope and in importance."

The FBI does catch sophisticated Soviet spies and their American dupes, including former CIA agents and workers in sensitive defense industries. But even when caught, many get away because of legal technicalities or diplomatic immunity, or sometimes the U.S. is afraid of revealing secret information, or letting Moscow know how much the FBI and CIA know about Soviet spy operations.

AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY is now the prime spy target, says one active intelligence officer.

"It is obvious that the Soviets and their Warsaw Pact allies don't want U.S. computer and microchip technology, or radar and laser information in order to build better video games, or provide better television or recorders for the peasants. It's for their military-industrial complex. Stealing saves them years of research and millions of rubles. And why not get the best?"

Webster told the story of William Bell, 61, a project manager in the radar systems group of Hughes Aircraft Co. in Los Angeles, who was recruited by Polish-Soviet intelligence to steal documents.

"Bell testified to having been paid almost \$170,000," Webster said. "For that sum, Bell sold out his company and his country." He was sentenced last December to eight years in prison.

Marian Zacharski, 29, a Pole who came to the U.S. in 1977 as a commercial representative and recruited Bell, was sentenced to life imprisonment.

One American who admitted passing secrets to the Russians was U.S. Air Force Second Lieutenant Christopher Cooke, deputy commander of a Titan II intercontinental nuclear missile silo at McDonnell Air Force base, who was arrested after he was seen visiting the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

Cooke confessed and was court-martialed, but because of an ambiguous promise that he would be granted immunity, and because he had not been advised of his legal rights when arrested, he was merely discharged from the service and set free.

What Cooke told the Soviets has never been disclosed, but the Air Force was reported to have changed all the codes and targeting for every one of its Titan II ICBM missiles.

Major KGB spies who work under diplomatic cover and have immunity are simply expelled after being caught red-handed. Some of them defect, or they are quietly exchanged for U.S. and other Western spies caught by the Soviets.

One such exchange took place "somewhere in Europe." In May, South African Prime Minister, Pieter Botha, disclosed that Soviet KGB Maj. Alexei Mikhailovich Kozlov had been caught spying in South Africa and was exchanged for a South African soldier and "eight high-level western intelligence agents" held by the Soviets or their

I SPY, YOU SPY

By DANIEL GILMORE/Washington



(Judah Passow)

client states. Details were not given.

ARKADY SHEVCHENKO, the UN under-secretary-general who defected in 1978, talked freely about Soviet espionage "in a nest of spies" — the United Nations.

Shevchenko told one reporter that of the 13 Soviets in his UN

secretariat, "at least seven were professional KGB officers...they didn't receive orders from me as a head of the department, they received orders from their bosses in the mission, from the KGB area resident."

Some 500 Soviets work at UN headquarters, along with hundreds

of Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Rumanians, Bulgarians and Cubans, whose intelligence services are under Moscow's control.

"Imagine the nightmare of trying to keep almost 1,000 of these Communist UN people under surveillance," says one intelligence official.

To that, add several hundred more in Washington embassies and consulates across the country, and Soviet and Communist bloc seamen arriving daily at almost every U.S. port "and you get an idea of the problem," he said.

Unlike Soviet and communist diplomats, who must get State Department permission for travel outside Washington, UN diplomats have no travel restrictions. They are even allowed in areas near military bases, and defense-related industries, off limits to ordinary diplomats.

One member of Shevchenko's staff was Valdik Enger, who was caught by the FBI trying to get secret documents from a U.S. Navy commander.

Despite his diplomatic immunity, Enger and Rudolf Chernyayev, another Soviet UN diplomat, were tried and convicted of espionage by a New York court in 1978, and then confined to a Soviet-owned residence in New York.

The two were exchanged in April, 1979, for five leading Soviet dissidents.

Communist defectors have reported that more than half of the 100 Cubans working at the UN are members of the KGB-trained and supervised Cuban DGI. There is also a Cuban interests section in Washington, half of whose members are said to be DGI agents.

The State Department announced on July 6 that two members of the Cuban UN mission had been expelled for trying to buy "large quantities" of high technology electronics equipment, the export of which is prohibited to communist countries.

"Were it not for their diplomatic status, both would be subject to prosecution," a state department spokesman said.

In February of last year, Ricardo Escartin, first secretary of the Cuban interests section in Washington, was expelled. Described as a top DGI officer, he was charged with conducting intelligence activities and trying to get American businessmen to engage in illegal trade.

Hardly a month passes without a published espionage report from somewhere in the nation.

ON JULY 1, Otto Atilla Gilbert, a 50-year-old Hungarian, pleaded guilty in a federal court to charges of conspiring to pass classified military documents to Hungarian intelligence. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison.

He had, it turned out, conspired with the wrong man — Hungarian-born U.S. Army Warrant Officer Janos Szmolka, who was working with the FBI posing as a Hungarian agent. Szmolka — with the knowledge of the FBI and CIA — was recruited by Hungarian intelligence while visiting Budapest in 1977.

But, double-agency works both ways. A number of former CIA agents have been caught working for the Soviets.

David Barnett, a former CIA agent, was sentenced to 18 years imprisonment after pleading guilty to passing information about U.S. intelligence operations to the KGB and identifying American agents. Barnett had worked for the CIA for 12 years.

In 1978, William P. Kampiles, who had worked for the CIA for only eight months, was convicted of selling the Soviets a secret manual on the CIA's KH-11 reconnaissance satellite. Only 23 when convicted, he is now serving a 40-year sentence.

Edwin G. Moore, a veteran CIA official who had retired in 1973 after 22 years service, got a life sentence for offering CIA secrets to Russia. Moore was caught after he had tossed a package of documents over the wall of a Soviet residential apartment complex in Washington, with a note offering more of the same. The Soviets, fearing the package was a bomb, called the police.

Under a sort of "gentlemen's agreement," there have been few known slayings of double agents in the U.S., but little is known about what does happen to them when they are discovered.

Veteran CIA official Jon Paisley, 55, joined the Office of Strategic Services, the CIA's predecessor, during WWII. He became fluent in Russian and joined the CIA when it was formed in 1949. After advanced studies in electronics and communications, he rose to be deputy director of the Office of Strategic Research — which included the KH-11 "spy-in-the-sky" satellite and other super-secret projects. He retired in 1974.

In September 1978, Paisley's 34-foot sloop, "Brillig" washed ashore in Chesapeake Bay near the mouth

of the Potomac River. Two coastguardsmen who boarded said it appeared that the owner had left hurriedly — a meal was half prepared. There was sophisticated radio equipment aboard, the ship-to-shore circuit still on, the wheel was unlocked.

A bloated and badly decomposed body floated ashore in Maryland the next month. The victim had been shot once behind the left ear with a 9mm bullet. The body was girdled with two belts, containing 39 pounds (17.7 kg) of diving weights.

Two men, who examined the body within hours of its discovery, reported seeing severe neck wounds, indicating strangulation or a cut throat. "It looked like a rope burn," said Dr. George Weems, a medical examiner. "I think he was probably strangled." A local marina owner said, "The throat had been slashed — a bad gash ran from ear to ear."

Neither the FBI nor the CIA could find Paisley's fingerprints. The coroner said he was unable, in any case, to take prints from the decomposed hands. It was found that Paisley's dental records had been destroyed by his dentist.

No bloodstains, firearms or cartridge cases were found around the Brillig.

The Maryland state police identified the corpse as that of Paisley and ruled that the death was "apparent suicide." The body was cremated in a CIA-approved funeral home, without ever having been seen by anyone who knew Paisley.

It was later learned that eight Soviet Embassy employees lived in the same apartment house as Paisley.

FBI chief Webster says the Soviets use every technique, but usually use blackmail and infiltration of factories. He called the Bell-Hughes case "a textbook example of espionage" which "reads like a John Le Carre novel."

"First there is a chance social meeting, followed by what could be months or even years of careful cultivation of the relationship," says Webster.

"Next comes the deliberate sounding out for information, then getting the unwary businessman involved through gifts or loans or some personal favor."

"Then the 'moment of truth' arrives, when the hook is firmly set and confidential or classified data is requested. In the FBI, we've seen this scenario played time and time again."

(United Press International)

THE VIEW FROM HOLLAND

By HENRIETTE BOAS/Post Amsterdam Correspondent

published by the Dutch Elsevier magazine on June 10.

The magazine, which has always been considered somewhat pro-Israel, commissioned the survey

from the prestigious Netherlands Institute for Public Opinion Research. The results of the poll came as a shock, even to those who already knew, from a survey conducted three years ago, that Dutch opinion was no longer as pro-Israel as it once was.

DUTCH CITIZENS aged 18 and up were asked six main questions: Do the Palestinians have a right to a state of their own? How much sympathy do you have for the Israelis? How much sympathy do you have for the Palestinians? Do you appreciate the reasons for the Israeli invasion of Lebanon? What should the Israelis have done under the circumstances? Who poses a greater danger to world peace, Israel or the PLO?

Although there were differences in the answers which were attributable to age differences, by and large the results were clear.

The younger citizens, born since World War II, had less sympathy for the Jewish state and in general tended to support "freedom fighters", liberation armies and

revolutionaries.

To the question whether the Palestinians have a right to a state of their own, 88 per cent favoured the Palestinian position, 7 per cent said "no", and 6 per cent were undecided.

No questions were asked about where such a state should be or what boundaries it should have.

Sympathy. Forty-one per cent had much sympathy for Israel, 45 per cent some sympathy and 12 per cent no sympathy at all. This was one specific case where there was a discrepancy between the age groups: of the 18-34-year-olds, 25 per cent had much sympathy, 58 per cent some sympathy, and 14 per cent no sympathy.

This shift was one of the most dramatic, since a poll taken by the same institute in 1979 showed 57 per cent expressing much sympathy, 36 per cent some sympathy, and only 3 per cent said they had none.

This does not mean, however, that there has been a comparable increase in Dutch sympathy for the Palestinians. Whereas some 32 per cent had much sympathy for the Palestinians in 1979, this year's figure was only 28 per cent. In the former poll, 55 per cent had some sympathy, today only 53 per cent

fall in the same category. And most surprising, while three years ago only 5 per cent admitted feeling no sympathy, the current poll shows 15 per cent expressing such a sentiment.

On the subject of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, once again the younger ones (18-34) were the more critical.

Asked about their degree of understanding for Israel's action, 24 per cent said they had much understanding, 40 per cent some, and 33 per cent had none at all.

As to alternatives, 47 per cent held that Israel should not have invaded Lebanon at all, 30 per cent favoured an invasion to a 40 km. depth, and 16 per cent said Israel should go straight on to take Beirut. ASKED ABOUT Israel and the PLO as threats to world peace, 16 per cent saw Israel as the greater danger, while 27 per cent assigned this role to the PLO; 36 per cent thought that Israel and the PLO pose an equal danger, while 18 per cent consider neither of them to be such a threat.

This too represents a certain shift from 1979, when only 9 per cent saw Israel as a threat to world peace while 30 per cent feared the PLO in this area.

SEVERAL FACTORS have helped sway Dutch public opinion. First of all, the stance of the Catholic Church; second, the traditional role of the Dutch as supporters of the underdog, a role they have now as-

signed to the Palestinians; and third, the "frigid attitude of the media towards Israel both in the Western world at large and in Holland itself."

According to Dutch journalists, this is in itself hard to understand, since they in no way fault the information services of the Israel Embassy in The Hague. In fact, they are even better than those of the Arab information offices and embassies, according to a journalist from *De Volkskrant*, a Dutch daily that has long been anti-Israel. "While the Arab embassies feel it beneath their dignity to deal with journalists," he said, "the Israelis are available, even the ambassador himself."

One of the problems is that while most editors are fair and objective, the Israel-based correspondents have been extremely critical over the last few years. At the same time, the Beirut-based correspondents have consistently reported, not the Lebanese opinion or the government's position, but verbatim PLO-oriented news stories. A number of these journalists have suddenly disappeared from their magazine's pages in the past few weeks.

The final summary, however, came from another correspondent who said, "It's the product. The Dutch hate war and when they have to choose they react against... it's automatic. The Israelis, at this point, seem to have come to represent war to them, and the results are reflected in the poll."

Turkish delight

JEWISH SCENE/Geoffrey Wigoder

your business, which was often turned over to a respected Moslem."

Another Jew told Ida Cowen "Things are wonderful now. One can go out again in the evenings. The terror has stopped and we are not afraid of robberies and even worse. The Army has brought us peace."

Many of Turkey's 20,000 Jews are in the export-import trade and are among the wealthier sector of the population. Of Turkey's Jews, 90 per cent live in Istanbul. They are a very small minority in a country with a population of 48 million.

THE DOMINANT interest of the Turkish Jews is making a good living. Many of those who study at the university go into the family business. Only a small number are in need of financial aid, and these are for the most part, the handicapped.

Despite its relative prosperity, says Cowen, their cultural and religious life is not flourishing. Istanbul now has only two public schools — one elementary and one secondary. Most Jews prefer to send their children to private schools, taught in French or

English.

Even in the Jewish schools, only four hours a week are allotted for the study of Hebrew and Jewish related subjects. The rabbinical seminary, which 30 years ago had 15 students, now has none. The spread of terrorism and the turmoil at Turkish universities led to an exodus of Jewish students to American universities.

Because of the general xenophobia of the Turks, no organization operating in a foreign country may function in Turkey. This means that none of the international Jewish organizations, including the Zionist Movement, may operate there.

Turkish Jews have full citizenship rights and overt cases of anti-Semitism are infrequent. Nevertheless, Turkish Jews have a history of being cautious and of striving to maintain a low profile.

In case there is a dispute between a Jew and a Moslem, the police tend to take the word of the Moslem. Consequently, Jews usually refrain from reporting incidents to the police. In general the Turkish Jews stay out of politics and keep away from the civil service.

Intermarriage is on the rise, and is

estimated at 10 per cent. In neighbouring Greece, an extraordinary development concerning intermarriage is reported by Paul Hirschhorn in the magazine *Present Tense*, published by the American Jewish committee.

Of Greece's 30,000 Jews, 5,000 live in Athens where the Central Committee of Greek Jews operates a Jewish school at kindergarten and elementary level. A policeman stands guard during classes for security reasons.

From 13 on, the children have to attend schools affiliated with the Greek Orthodox Church. Although there is friction, and one student says he was often asked "Why did you Jews kill Christ?", friendships nevertheless develop and these not infrequently become romances. Mixed marriages are therefore a major concern for Greek Jews.

Until a few years ago, such unions were not accepted by the Jewish establishment. To "marry out," one had to go abroad or be married by a priest. Greece, like Israel, allows no civil marriage.

Then, according to Hirschhorn, in 1977, the Athens Jewish Committee decided to permit mixed marriages for a two-year trial period "in order to prevent the rejection of Judaism by those Jews who want to marry Greeks."

He adds that the rabbi of Athens opposed this move, but eventually agreed to officiate at such ceremonies.

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Farmers losing on tomatoes

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Israeli tomato export market is in the red, and farmers — some of them former Yamit area residents transplanted to Pi'hat Shalom — are complaining of substantial losses this year.

Tomatoes are a big issue in Israel's southwest border settlements. Meir Ben-Meir, director general of the Ministry of Agriculture, puts it bluntly: "Tomatoes are the main livelihood of the settlers of this crucial border area. Without tomatoes they have no livelihood."

He says the ministry is trying to find substitute crops, like mangoes or flowers, for the hot-house grown tomatoes. But he adds that tomatoes will be the staple crop of this area for the foreseeable future.

Ben-Meir lists two main reasons for the present losses: high air freight rates plus stiff competition in European markets, affected by the present recession. To want these hurdles, Ben-Meir is pushing for the growing of new, better tomatoes so that the entire crop can be exported by sea at lower costs.

Eddie Peretz, the "father" of glass-house tomato growing in Israel and founder of Sde Nitzan in the B'sor region, believes the losses are due to the incompetence of the people who train the farmers, the choice of tomato strains, and the marketing of the produce.

Peretz says that the overhead for a ton of export tomatoes is about \$1,500, or three times that for Spanish tomatoes, one of Israel's main competitors in Europe. Peretz thinks that this \$1,500 can be cut to at least \$1,000 by efficiency, and that sending high quality produce to the market could fetch higher prices, and that the combination of the two could again make the branch profitable.

Peretz said he was fetching top prices in Europe and the U.S. for tomatoes flown by him and by farmers he trained, because they

grew tomatoes under the best conditions, and exported them only after checking carefully that they were the best sent.

Asked why in the 1981/82 export season he stopped exporting tomatoes under his Peretz-line brand, Peretz said many of the farmers cheated on him and were growing lower grade tomatoes, which he refused to export under his name.

Other sources told *The Jerusalem Post* that farmers had stopped working with Peretz because he was "a dictator." Peretz admitted the charge, saying it was the only way to get first-class tomatoes.

The sources explained that moshavniks are an independent lot, and were miffed when, after asking Peretz why they must grow tomatoes in a certain manner, he would answer, "This is the way it must be done," without elaborating.

On a recent visit to several German cities this reporter heard local buyers say they were surprised that Israel had stopped sending Peretz-line tomatoes which fetched twice the price of other Israeli tomatoes and of tomatoes from the Canary Islands, Morocco, and Spain. They also said the Peretz tomatoes sent by air are tastier than those shipped by sea. If Israel sends tomatoes by sea, it will soon lose its entire European market, they said.

At Agrexco, however, the comments of the German buyers are taken with a grain of salt. They say the buyers must have got the Israeli tomato types mixed up. There is a big difference between the quality of tomatoes grown in open areas and in glass houses, they say, and also between the different types of tomatoes grown in glass houses.

Dr. Joseph Mizrahi, a plant physiologist-agronomist from Ben-Gurion University on loan to the Agricultural Research Institute, told *The Post* that tastes differ on tomatoes too.

He showed me a number of

studies made in Germany and England by Marks and Spencer, on the relative popularity of Peretz-line tomatoes and K-line tomatoes, which he helped develop at the Faculty of Agriculture and which have a long shelf-life and can be sent by ship. Some tests showed a preference for the Peretz line and others for the K-line.

Mizrahi said it would be a great mistake to ship all the tomatoes by sea, and he has demanded of Ben-Meir that most of the crop continue to be sent by air.

According to the Agriculture Ministry and Agrexco, it cost about \$900 to freight a ton of tomatoes during the last export season.

CAL Cargo Airlines of the farming community told *The Post* that their price for the 1981/82 export season will be about \$700 a ton.

CAL has been demanding for years the right to charter jumbo freighters on the open market instead of through El Al. An official there told *The Post* that, if they were allowed to do so, they could lower the price even further to \$600 per ton and if they were really efficient maybe reach \$500, which would bring them much closer to the sea price of about \$300.

The outgoing head of the El Al cargo division Zeev Livneh told *The Post* that if the farmers sent all their goods directly through El Al and not through CAL, they could bring the cost down to \$400 during certain periods, but that the average price would be nearer \$600.

This month CAL and El Al are to open negotiations on the chartering of freighters for the coming export season.

Gavish takes over from Blumenthal

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TZOFIT. — Aluf (res.) Yeshayahu Gavish yesterday took up his appointment as managing director of Koor, the country's largest industrial complex.

Gavish, who replaces Naftali Blumenthal, joined Koor in 1970, after a distinguished army career, which culminated in his appointment as commanding officer of the southern sector, a post he filled during the Six Day War and the War of Attrition.

Gavish, who was born in Tel Aviv in 1925, joined Koor as head of the metal division. For the past few years he has been deputy managing director.

Blumenthal now becomes chairman of the board of Koor. As an Alignment MK, he is also active in the Knesset's finance committee.

City firms to offer shares

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A number of city-owned companies will soon offer shares to the public in order to raise funds for the municipality. Reuven Vitale, head of the bureau for city companies said at a press conference yesterday.

He said the Industrial Structures Company has already raised IS27 million by selling shares on the stock market.

Next in line to go on the stock market is the Conventions Centre, due to be completed in October at a \$585 million investment, IS40 m. of which was contributed by the Tourism Ministry.

Vitale said that the bureau intends to tighten the inspection of the municipal companies in order to increase their efficiency. This was a reaction to criticism expressed in the municipal companies' financial report for 1981/82, which was discussed at yesterday's municipal council meeting.

Opposition leader Natan Woloch (Alignment) said that some of the 40 city-owned companies and associations lack an internal controller, and in other cases the controllers are municipal employees, instead of being independent of the municipality.

The report states that only eight companies are now financed by the city, as compared with half of them last year.

The companies are involved in development projects and municipal services which the municipality cannot undertake due to budgetary constraints, the report says. Four companies are jointly owned by the city and the government.

Securities not traded yesterday

The Stock Exchange executive cancelled trading yesterday, following the Finance Ministry's announcement of a 1 per cent tax on all stocks and bonds sold by mutual funds.

Shortly after the Peace for Galilee operation began, a 2 per cent tax was levied on all stocks and bonds sold on the stock market by investors, including the sale of mutual fund certificates. But mutual funds that trade on the market themselves were exempted.

Individuals and industrial firms with money to spare Ample investment capital in Israel

By DAVID KRIVINE
Post Economic Correspondent

ANYBODY WHO THINKS you cannot make money in Israel is talking through his hat. Despite dismal salaries for middle-class jobs in the public service (due to the Histadrut's egalitarian insistence on narrow wage differentials), spending money is not lacking in the economy, whether for buying cars or for travel abroad — or for placements in profitable stocks.

During the early sixties, investment clubs began to sprout. It was a modest business, but showed the way the wind was beginning to blow. Groups of friends would agree to put up IL10 a month (a respectable sum in those days) for the purchase of securities.

Their collective portfolio would grow as new contributions came in each month. They met at intervals for coffee in each other's homes, and discussed what to buy and what to sell and whether the dividends ought to be reinvested.

These clubs wilted as the unit trusts took hold, then rose again when the stock exchange came to seem a rich field for ploughing. Only today they are not called clubs, and there is no longer the equal monthly contribution.

Each member of the group puts in whatever sum he would like to invest. Together there is a bundle of capital large enough to justify its management by an expert in the banking field, who is as often as not himself a participating member of the group.

Higher up the income scale, businessmen exist who are doing so well that their pocket-money, when pooled together, can finance the creation of an entire investment company. One recently created is called Ugda.

ITS SPONSOR is Uzi Natanel, Israel's first Economic Counsellor in Egypt. After 20 months at that job he returned to his private concerns. He is part-owner of a steel and iron foundry in Beit Shmesh, and of the Hed-Artzi gramophone record company; he also runs, together with a man called Daniel Lubovsky, a consulting firm.

Ugda consists of eight partners, including some of Natanel's associates in the foundry and in Hed-Artzi. Each contributed the equivalent of \$100,000. "We aim to reach a paid-up capital of \$1m.," he says.

They are friends, some of them relatives, all relatively young (in their forties). The group is just tight in size, they don't want to expand it

— though eager candidates are available in plenty; and they are talking of people ready to put up \$100,000 apiece.

Ugda is for its owners a second business, a small diversification of their economic interests, a way of productizing their spare cash. But they are not sleeping partners, as in the case of the investment clubs and investment groups.

When they interest themselves in a company, they want half the shares, or at least management rights. They have bought into a small firm in Nes Ziona (one "with potential," says Natanel), called Aviation Aids Industry. It makes among other things a material that glows called Betalite, useful for various military and civilian purposes.

Ugda has taken over for a subscription-selling business, earning a commission on sales. Talks are on with a textile company, eager for its participation. There are possibilities of property development. The plan is eventually to go public and raise funds on the stock exchange — though control will hopefully remain with the eight original partners.

The clientele for Ugda's capital are medium-sized undertakings who are not inclined to approach huge finance houses like Clal and Discount Bank Investments, for fear of being swallowed up. They like the idea of tying in with people of their own stature, possessed of money and business experience.

The members' own separate firms must presumably be doing reasonably well to leave them the time, energy and cash for an additional splash on the side. Indeed the prestige of Ugda at its beginnings is based to some extent on the business prestige of each of the individuals on its board.

A SIMILAR THEME prevails in the upper reaches of the economy. Top-line manufacturing and construction enterprises, employing sizeable staffs and saddled with heavy running costs, are managing to make available extensive spare resources, despite the Bank of Israel's persistent credit squeeze.

Industrial companies have started to invade the financial precinct. Banding together in groups, they form — investment companies.

Granite was founded two years ago. It has eight members, as in Ugda — but with a subscription this time of \$1m. per capita. It is interesting to see who belongs. Let us group them by branches:

Construction 1. Zacharia Drucker, the biggest private builder in Israel, until he sold a controlling interest to Solel Boneh.

2. The Landau group, owned by three partners, Landau, Zohar and

Ze'evi. They are doing good work in Africa and South America. Chemicals 3. The Dor Carmel group, belonging to the Dankner and Ginio families, owners of Dor Chemicals and Carmel Chemicals.

4. HLB (Properties), belonging to the Leibovitz brothers, owners of Etz Hazayith; also busy in construction.

Shipping 5. Ofer Brothers, owners of 30 cargo ships and oil tankers; also busy in civil engineering and construction.

Science-based industries 6. Elul Technologies, owned by Koor and David Kolitz, dealing with electronics and optics.

7. International Technologies, belonging to Yosef Vardi (one-time director-general of the Energy Ministry) and Yoram Almogi (son of Yosef Almogi, cabinet minister in several Labour governments).

Commerce and Finance 8. Sam Ne'eman, former Israeli resident who worked with Meshulam Rykiss in the U.S. to create a vast chain of retail stores; but he has now retired from that. Ne'eman is chairman of Granite.

There are rumours that a ninth group has joined lately, Ampal, itself an American investment company connected with Bank Hapoalim.

WE HAVE HERE a board representing construction, chemicals, shipping, high-technology and finance. And Granite should have something like \$10m. on tap, first time round. So far they have made only one major transaction — the purchase of Sonol, for \$4m.

It is not clear what object they have in mind with this acquisition. Their aim, it is understood, is to finance big projects, notably projects with international associations.

What is clear from the above is that Israel contains an ample supply of investment capital. As it happens, the country has an urgent need for capital, if only to bridge its chronic foreign trade gap.

Moreover the latest round of disputes with the U.S. over how arms acquired in that country may be used, accentuates for the umpteenth time the need to speed up the development of an independent arms industry.

What contribution is the plethora of new investment companies, like Mizrahi Investments, Dunot, Discount-Investments, International, Granite, also companies in the junior league like Ugda, going to make?

Will they buy existing assets from each other, in that sterile way that has become familiar? Or will they create exciting new things — in industry, import-substitution, exports? Time will tell.

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Tel Aviv Stock Exchange Ltd.
113 Rehov Allenby, Tel Aviv

Notice to the Public

No transactions took place at the Stock Exchange yesterday, August 1, 1982

This was done to allow time for replies to requests for clarifications from the Finance Ministry on the stock sales levy imposed on trust fund transactions, and for organization of the levy collection. Hence, all existing regulations for stock purchases and sales are hereby cancelled. Investors must now issue new orders for transactions being renewed today, August 2, 1982.



GIVE SOLDIERS LIFTS

FOREIGN CURRENCY 30.7.82			
Friday's foreign exchange rates against the Israeli Shekel, for U.S. dollar transactions under \$3,000 and transactions of other currencies under the equivalent of \$500.			
	Selling	Buying	
US\$	25.8975	25.8325	
DM	10.5705	10.4685	
Swiss FR	12.3508	12.2688	
Sterling	45.0624	44.8185	
French FR	3.7961	3.7587	
Dutch G	3.5596	3.4658	
Australian \$	14.9085	14.8508	
Swedish KR	4.2498	4.2079	
Danish KR	3.0335	3.0037	
Norwegian KR	4.0198	3.9802	
Finnish MK	5.4702	5.4163	
Canadian \$	20.3254	20.2798	
Rand	22.5729	22.5118	
Australian \$	25.7710	25.5171	
Belgian (10) Con	5.5333	5.4788	
Belgian (10) Pin	5.1931	5.1419	
Yen (1000)	10.1222	10.0225	
Italian Lira (1000)	18.3524	18.4649	
GOLD: \$343.90/\$344.40/m.			
INTERBANK LONDON SPOT RATES:			
US\$	1.7357/57	per £	
DM	2.4556/75	per £	
Swiss FR	2.0915/30	per £	
French FR	6.8480/90	per £	
Italian Lira	1376.00/50	per £	
Dutch G	2.7118/50	per £	
Norwegian KR	6.4390/10	per £	
Danish KR	8.5325/50	per £	
Yen	256.30/45	per £	
Swedish KR	6.0908/25	per £	
FORWARD RATES:			
1 m.	3 m.	6 m.	
S/C	1.7364/80	1.7425/43	1.7552/72
D/M\$	2.4495/05	2.4520/10	2.4600/20
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COUNTRY	CURRENCY	CHEQUES AND TRANSACTIONS	BANKNOTES
		PURCHASE, SALE	PURCHASE, SALE
U.S.A.	DOLLAR	25.8312 25.8886	25.5000 25.2800
GREAT BRITAIN	STERLING	44.5470 44.9947	44.0000 43.4500
GERMANY	MARK	10.4652 10.5603	10.3500 10.6700
FRANCE	FRANC	3.7601 3.7979	3.5000 3.6400
HOLLAND	GULDEN	3.4558 3.5407	3.3500 3.6400
SWITZERLAND	FRANC	12.3637 12.3969	12.1400 12.5100
SWEDEN	KRONA	4.2226 4.2650	4.1300 4.3100
NORWAY	KRONE	3.9300 4.0231	3.8900 4.0600
DENMARK	KRONE	3.0143 3.0416	2.9400 3.0800
FINLAND	MARK	5.4268 5.4814	5.3000 5.5400
CANADA	DOLLAR	20.3601 20.3738	20.0000 20.7800
AUSTRALIA	DOLLAR	25.5030 25.7983	24.3300 26.2500
SOUTH AFRICA	RAND	22.2632 22.5879	17.5500 23.7700
BELGIUM	FRANC	5.47320 5.5270	— —
AUSTRIA	SCHILLING 10	14.8629 15.0123	14.7100 15.1000
ITALY	LIRE 1000	18.4517 18.6391	17.6300 19.0300
JAPAN	YEN 1000	100.2570 101.3637	99.3300 102.3900
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Israel Lands Administration
Tel Aviv and Central District

Offer for Lease of Build Your Home Plot in Herzliya

Tender No. TA/82/43

The Israel Lands Administration offers the lease of a plot, details of which at the time of publication of this notice were as follows:

Block	Parcel	Plot	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Building %	Minimum required price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
6869	571	SA	600	150% for 1 floor or 180% for cottage	1,849,600	90,000

Details, sample contracts, bid forms and additional information on the relevant tenders are available at our Tel Aviv district office, 88 Derech Petah Tikva, 1st floor, 8.30 a.m. - 12 noon.

Bids should be posted in the tenders mailbox at the above address by 12 noon on September 9, 1982. Bids not found in the mailbox by the above time will not be considered for participation in the tender.

The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any bid whatsoever.

Tel Aviv and Central District

Offer for Lease of Plot for Construction of Residential Building in Holon

Tender No. TA/82/44

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for a development contract for the area, details of which at the time of publication of this tender were as follows:

Block	Parcel	Area (sq.m.)	Floors	Building %	Minimum required price (IS)	Deposit
6043	1680	552		33% per floor + 30% of building area for balconies	2,861,700	143,000

Details, sample contracts, bid forms and additional information on the relevant tenders are available at our Tel Aviv district office, 88 Derech Petah Tikva, 1st floor, 8.30 a.m. - 12 noon on regular working days.

Bids should be posted in the tenders mailbox at the above address by 12 noon on September 9, 1982. Bids not found in the mailbox by the above time will not be considered for participation in the tender.

The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any bid whatsoever.

Personal opinion/E.Z. Suffot Travel tax not fair at all

What is "fair," Mr. Voet? Why quibble about 15 per cent, uniform tax, and the like? Hit them where it hurts them most, in their pockets. Remember the British General, not the Fifth Commandment.

Hit the old folks left behind when their uncaring children and grandchildren abandoned them for

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing DirectorTHE JERUSALEM
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Metsah-Av 13, 5742 • Shawwal 12, 1402

Intermittent cease-fire

LONGEVITY has not been characteristic of any of the cease-fires in the fighting between the IDF and the PLO in West Beirut, and the latest, the eighth in number, blew up with a bang early yesterday morning after lasting barely a day.

A provocation by the PLO, so it was officially said, led to a vigorous response by the IDF. While the terrorists poured Katyusha rockets and Grad missiles into East Beirut and even Jounieh, the Israeli forces responded by pounding the enemy, more remorselessly than ever before, from the air, land and sea. The main practical result was the tightening of the siege around West Beirut, as Israeli troops captured the international airport and advanced to the outskirts of the Burj el Barajne refugee camp.

Yet this was not the beginning of the widely expected all-out Israeli assault on West Beirut, as was made clear following the cabinet meeting yesterday. The cabinet had taken no decision to start the assault. What was taking place in West Beirut was merely a "local military action" forced by the PLO's violation of the cease-fire. Israel would welcome a resumption of the cease-fire, provided it was "absolute and mutual."

There was some reason to assume, too, that the entry into West Beirut would at least not be made to coincide with the current visit to Washington by Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

In any case, efforts to restore the cease-fire started almost as soon as the arrangement broke down, in direct contacts between Israel and the U.S. Security Council, too, got in on the act, at the behest of the Lebanese government itself, although the day was Sunday. This, however, was more a demonstration of the council's legitimate interest in the matter than an effective act of intervention. In the event, it was not really necessary. A new cease-fire went into effect yesterday afternoon.

That the cease-fire would soon be resumed, although its duration again could not be guaranteed, was a foregone conclusion. Premier Begin could hardly afford to turn a deaf ear to President Reagan's entreaty, in a cable wishing the premier well on his 69th birthday, that U.S. envoy Philip Habib should be allowed to conduct his diplomacy, focussed on getting the PLO out of the Lebanese capital, in an atmosphere free from rockets and bombs.

How much headway Mr. Habib was making in his shuttle diplomacy remained an open question. Israel's savage riposte in yesterday's fiery duel may well have been meant to convey more than an incidental message to the terrorists that their foot-dragging in the talks with Mr. Habib must stop. In Jerusalem, the six-point programme adopted by the Arab foreign ministers' committee in Jeddah last Thursday is taken as something less than the unequivocal statement of the PLO's readiness to evacuate West Beirut demanded by Israel.

The Jeddah programme did pledge that the PLO "will announce its decision to move its armed forces from (West) Beirut" — but continued: "and will define guarantees for this withdrawal and for the security of this withdrawal and for the security of the (Palestinian refugee) camps by agreement with the Lebanese government."

This formulation, moreover, was followed by a whole list of conditions. The siege of Beirut will be lifted through the withdrawal of the Israeli forces. The Lebanese government will take all measures to ensure the security of the residents of Beirut and its suburbs, including the refugee camps. An international peace force will take part in ensuring the security of Beirut and its suburbs. And the Arab states will support efforts to help implement the two Security Council resolutions calling for Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon.

If these conditions are meant in earnest, then they reflect less a readiness in principle by the PLO to leave West Beirut, than determination to stick it out. In that case, the Jeddah programme itself represents nothing but the latest exercise in foot-dragging. In which case the prospects of a very protracted cease-fire do not appear to be very good.

POSTSCRIPTS

PS. DAY TRIPS to Lebanon may soon be the "in" thing for us, but we are in danger of being upstaged by the Concorde. The supersonic airliner is opening its service from London to Israel on August 29 with a champagne-charged, 12-hour flight to Heathrow and back described as "the trip of a lifetime."

Indeed, we would go further, for its ad in the London Jewish Chronicle promises a tour beyond the wildest imaginings of anybody with £897 (approximately \$140,000) to spare.

"In Jerusalem," it reads breathlessly, "you will visit the Wailing Wall, the Temple Mount, the Omar Mosque, the Dome of the Rock, the Israel Museum, the Hebrew University, the Shrine of the Book, Jaffa Gate, the Armenian and reconstructed quarter, as well as other parts of Old City. The coach will return to Tel Aviv via Dolorosa to see the Holy Sepulchre and Bethlehem (time permitting)."

R.C.R.

PS. DEMENTIA among the elderly sometimes may stem from treatable ailments, not brain deterioration, and the mental disease could be reversed with careful treatment, a new study says.

Of 111 Boston-area nursing home patients, 26 with dementia symptoms but exhibiting no sign of brain damage were found to have other, potentially reversible disorders. They included low levels of thyroid hormone, vitamin B12 deficiency

and depression, the Associated Press reports.

In another 85 patients, dementia was linked to irreversible brain damage due to Alzheimer's Disease — atrophy of the brain's grey matter — or cerebral infarction — lack of blood to the brain — according to the study, reported in the most recent issue of the *Journal of The American Medical Association* (JAMA).

Telling the difference between reversible and irreversible dementia is often difficult, said Dr. Thomas D. Sabin, a co-author of the study and director of neurology at Boston City Hospital.

Sabin reported that dementia caused by brain damage often is indistinguishable from the dementia-like symptoms of depression that sometimes respond to anti-depressant drugs. He said patients also may have treatable disorders along with deterioration of the brain.

The JAMA report said that forms of dementia affects millions of people, and the number will increase in coming years unless major advances in prevention and treatment of the illness are made.

PS. A READER in Haifa has just sent us a photocopy of a postcard she received from friends who were visiting Tunis. The Tunisians had scratched out the word Israel on the postcard and replaced it with "Palestine Occupied" — but they mailed it all the same. It took about nine days to reach Haifa.

V.R.

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COVERING THE WAR

By LEON HADAR/Post New York Correspondent

"MY WIFE is upset over the American television coverage of Israel during the Lebanon war," admits Reuven Frank, the new president of NBC News.

Frank, 61, is the son of the late M.Z. Frank, a prominent American Labour Zionist leader and writer who worked as a correspondent for Israeli newspapers. He supervises the news output of NBC Television and Radio and thus shapes the opinion of millions of Americans on domestic and foreign issues.

Many American Jews are concerned that the American television networks have been giving Israel a rough time and tilting public opinion against the Jewish State.

Television coverage is also influencing the diplomatic process in the Lebanon crisis. "We're in a period when negotiations are being conducted on television," says David Garth, the head of a prominent PR firm which was commissioned by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to survey American television coverage of the Lebanon crisis.

"We're interested in finding out what this means to a secretary of state or to public opinion," explains Garth. His researchers will monitor the three major networks' coverage of Lebanon until the end of the crisis, trying to find out "what the effect is when you show hostile action by anybody. What is the effect on the American people, on the American Jewish community, on Congress? Does it affect policy?"

Garth argues that the television reporting of the war was in general accurate. "The perception is the problem, and we're trying to answer the question of what responsibility the media have to clear up the perception on nightly news."

He notes that Arafat appears almost every night on network news with a little child. "No pistol on his belt. What's he running? A kindergarten?"

Garth points out that there were TV reports of major casualties based on reports from the Red Crescent headed by Arafat's brother.

THE WORD has reached Reuven Frank that Garth's researchers have rated his news department as more "negative" than CBS and ABC in its coverage of Israel during the Lebanon war.

In his office in the RCA Building in the Rockefeller Center, Frank told *The Jerusalem Post* that he was not only aware, but also had "very strong indications" that Israel and the American Jewish community are upset over television coverage of the war.

He handed me a letter he had received that very day from a Jewish couple in New Jersey, which criticized his network and accused it of pro-Arab bias and of surrendering to Arab propaganda. "It's a form letter," he said. "It's probably been sent to the other networks." He gets many letters like that every week. "At the same time, we also get many letters from the other side, accusing the network of pro-Israel bias, of not covering certain negative aspects of Israel's policy. They balance each other."

READERS' LETTERS

FOREIGN MINISTRY'S INFORMATION EFFORTS

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*: Sir, — Mr. Theodore Levite's article, "Operation that failed" (July 18), contains a strongly-worded attack on Israel's information efforts — or *hasbara*. Albeit in sarcastic style, he makes a number of serious accusations. They are very impressive. They only happen to be groundless.

For example, Mr. Levite writes: "Did the Foreign Ministry have daily briefings for foreign correspondents on the aims of Operation Peace for Galilee and its implications for the world? Not to my knowledge."

What are the facts? Every foreign correspondent in Israel knows for years now that the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs holds a daily briefing for the foreign press. Indeed, Mr. Christopher Walker, correspondent for the *London Times*, referred to these daily briefings in his letter to *The Jerusalem Post* (July 23). If a veteran journalist like Mr. Levite is unaware of

He seemed to be distressed by the "outsiders," the Israeli and Arab critics who tell him what "should" be broadcast on television. He made a point of not meeting with either group. "We're a news service," he stressed, "not a public-opinion research firm."

But it was clear that the Israeli and American Jewish criticism of his network's coverage had got to him. I noticed on his desk the latest issue of the *New Republic* in which editor Martin Peretz, reflecting this criticism, blasted the American media for their coverage of the war.

"Much of what you have read in the newspapers and newsmagazines about the war in Lebanon — and even more of what you have seen and heard on television — is simply not true," wrote Peretz.

I ask Frank whether he has read the long *New York Times* piece by David Shipley, the *Times* correspondent in Israel, describing the horrors of the PLO occupation of southern Lebanon.

"It's all part of the new thing," said Frank. "After several weeks of what they considered to be a bad press, the pro-Israel PR establishment, partly the government, partly Martin Peretz, are reacting."

"You can see it coming, you can see the organization, you can see

standards we hold the Israelis to. We just expect more from Israel, a country in which we have a lot of interest." This interest, he noted, was welcomed and encouraged by Israel for decades. "And once you create such interest — then everything that happens there, good or bad, becomes interesting."

FRANK, according to NBC president Robert Mulholland, "wrote the book" on how television covers politics. He has been involved in television journalism for more than 30 years, and his list of accomplishments includes the creation and production of *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*.

Analysing the changes that took place in media coverage of Israel since its establishment, he said that from 1948 until Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, "Israel had a press in this country that I believe was unprecedented in the U.S. or anywhere."

He attributed this to the sympathy that was generally felt towards the Jews following the Holocaust, and the power of the American Jewish community.

However, in recent years, the Palestinians "took over from Israel the underdog image," he explained. The Palestinians enjoy more sup-

What Israel sees today is not an anti-Israel bias in the news coverage, but a reduction in the pro-Israel bias

the inception, you can see the results," he said, referring to the new Israeli PR efforts. He is even willing to bet that "somebody in New York" instructed Shipley to write his piece on the PLO occupation of Lebanon.

A Jewish friend, who is part of the Israeli PR effort, had just returned from Lebanon and phoned him.

"Do you know that the PLO was holding Lebanon hostage?" he asked him. "Why does that justify an invasion," answered Frank. "Would the fact that some Irish are aiding the IRA justify a British invasion of Ireland?"

I noted that NBC and the other two networks never miss a chance to show negative aspects of Israel's conduct on the West Bank. Why didn't we get on television even an indication of the horrors the population in Lebanon had suffered at the hands of the PLO all those long years?

It took Frank a few seconds to reply. "The main point is that Israel is held to a different standard by us," he said. "It's not judged by the same standard as an Arab country, as a Central American country, as an African one-party state, or as the PLO. It is held to the same standards as the U.S. and the West European countries."

American television paid little attention to the slaughter that took place in Timor, but it did focus on the West Bank, "because we don't hold the Indonesians to the same

port today among Americans, and there is a perception that Israel has lost some of its moral superiority. "It's not a majority, but it's big enough to become important," he asserted.

"What Israel sees today is not an anti-Israel bias in the news coverage," he said, "but a reduction in the pro-Israel bias."

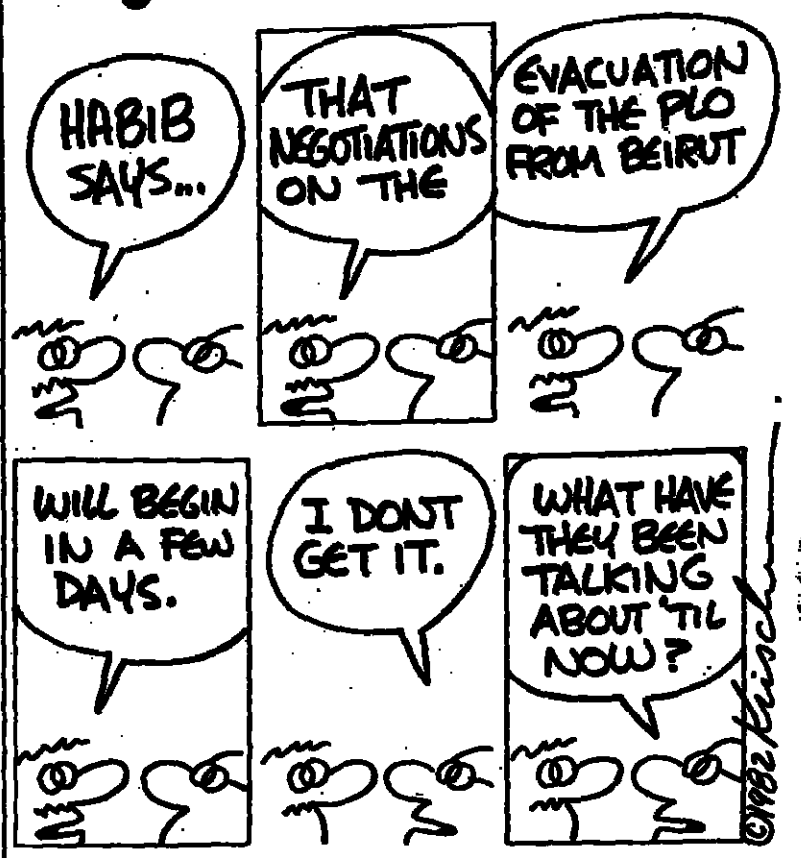
I asked him whether some of the American journalists covering Lebanon and the West Bank are not trying to re-create the Vietnam war, with Israel playing the role of villainous South Vietnam and the PLO as the new Vietcong.

This argument is too far fetched, he said. The truth is more simple. Israel is shelling Beirut. "You get a dead Palestinian baby. To an Israeli, it's a dead Palestinian. To the American journalist, it's a dead baby."

Some of the criticism of the television coverage of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank reminds him of the criticism he heard during the 1960s of the media's coverage of the Civil Rights struggle in the South. At the time, some of the anti-Civil Rights Movement people, like the pro-Israeli voices today, argued that the media weren't presenting the "entire picture." They were accused of not describing the "political complexities."

I referred to Peretz's argument that the Beirut-based correspondents overlaid the pro-PLO posi-

Dry Bones



tion before the war began. Bashir Jemayel and the heads of the Maronite community were rarely shown on television by the correspondents of the three networks who live in PLO-dominated West Beirut.

"So our Israeli-based correspondents tend to overplay the Israeli position," Frank said. "That's natural."

But still, I insisted, shouldn't there have been more coverage of

and the Israeli government on the issue of military censorship. "Basically, the Israelis are treating the foreign press better than most of the other countries. We are picking on them," he said.

His correspondents in Israel had some problems in their dealings with the government and the army officials. "Some of the official escorts seem to be working without clear instructions," he noted. His network, for example, was not allowed to cover a certain area, which another network was allowed to cover, and vice versa.

He returned to the issue of the double standards. The fact that Iran doesn't allow journalists to cover the war would not justify an Israeli attempt to prevent access to the foreign press. "We expect a democratic country to give access to foreign journalists," he said, recalling that the American media made a fuss over the fact that the British didn't allow them to cover the Falklands war. "In any case, I would assume that if Israel had not given us access, the PLO would have given it to us. And the war would have been covered only from the PLO perspective," he said.

The veteran television journalist talked with admiration of the Israeli PR officials. "The Israelis are known among reporters, especially Washington journalists, as very competent and very aggressive."

But sometimes they are too aggressive. He recalled that when the late presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson went to Israel in the '50s, Israeli officials subjected him to a barrage that lasted from 5 a.m. to midnight. "The man was lazy and he resented it," Frank said, adding half-jokingly: "That is perhaps the reason why he wrote less than favourable articles about Israel."

I asked Frank if he didn't think the White House correspondents failed during the Lebanese war, especially in the first days when they overplayed the theme that the administration would at any moment ask for an immediate Israeli withdrawal. Also, they did not report on the internal debate in the administration on the issue.

"Some of the information was probably planted by someone in the White House," he said.

Was this a failure of the great "investigative" reporters of Washington? I persisted. "We are not historians," he replied. "We are just reporters. We report what we get."

From time to time the "Jewish factor" in American media is mentioned by both Arabs and Israelis, he noted. Arabs talk about the "Jewish control" of the American media. Some Israelis refer to "self-hating Jews" who attack Israel. "I don't consider myself a self-hating Jew," said the son of M.Z. Frank. "There are many Jews in top positions in the media. But I don't think it makes any difference."

FRANK said he was sorry about the impression that had emerged from the debate between the networks

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